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SOCIAL ETHICS

IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH
WITH REFERENCE TO ITS RELATIONS WITH THE COLORED RACE.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of

The Pacific School of Religion,

Berkeley, California,

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Sacred Theology.

By

Rev. Sumner Walters, M.A., B.D.

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Social Ethics
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INTRODUCTION

There are certain principles which appear in the gospels, namely, the great value of personality in God's sight, the brotherhood of all men as children of the Father, the duty of service to our fellows, the law of love as the dominant rule of life, and the obligation of faith in God and in human beings. The first three of these present the quality of the Christian ideal, the last two the plan by which it is to be realized.

The proletarian character of the primitive Church was so marked that some one has observed that the original Church councils might have been looked upon as labor conferences.¹

It is generally agreed that apostolic Christianity accepted the institution of slavery, which later fell before the impact of the ideals of democracy and equality implicit in the Christian faith.

Despite Jesus' "Love your enemies.....do good to them that hate you" (Mt.5:44), little reflection seems to have been given by the Ante-Nicene fathers to the human causes of wars, for example, which are grouped with famines, pestilences, etc. and explained in this way: "These things happen,

1 Church and Indust. Reconstruction, p. 243.

not because your gods are worshipped by us, but because God is not worshipped by you." (Cyprian: Treatise to Demetrianus)²_Λ

In Post-Nicene times, the Church, continuing its uncritical acceptance of social evils as it found them, classified slavery with war and pestilence. Like most Christians in the twentieth century, the Church then worked toward amelioration rather than removal of bad conditions. "No pope has ever declared slavery incompatible with Christianity."³_Λ

In 1102 the Council of London, called by Anselm, forbade the selling of human beings like brute beasts.⁴_Λ In 1171 the Council of Armagh declared all Christian slaves free.⁵_Λ English serfdom was finally abolished in the reign of Charles II.⁶_Λ

2 Ante-Nicene Fathers: Vol. 8, p. 426. (Cyprian: Treatise to Demetrianus)

3 Schaff: History, Vol. IV, pp. 335-337.

4 Brace: "Gesta", p. 249.

5 " : " , p. 249.

6 " : " , pp. 238, 252.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 17th Century.

In the latter 17th century the position of the Church towards public morals, in the conventional sense of the expression, is indicated by a famous essay by the Rev. Jeremy Collier, "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage".⁷ It cannot, however, be considered to belong strictly to Church history, either from its subject or from the fact that the author stood entirely apart from the general Church life of his day. The book is a powerful attack on the prevalent looseness of the drama.

At the same time societies were being organized, chiefly by the clergy, for the cultivation of the devotional life, since it was recognized that laws alone were futile as weapons against vice without the support of the public conscience.⁸ By 1710 we learn that there were no less than forty-two such groups in London besides a good many more in other cities. Their labors were chiefly practical--charitable and educational, and missionary eventually, as well as ministering to the religious needs of special kinds of people, including soldiers and sailors and prisoners.

Political conditions had gone far to identify the Church of England with the ruling class, so that, while in France many of the lower clergy threw in their lot with the third estate, in Eng-

7 Hutton: "Eng. Church", p. 57.
8 " : " " , p. 304.

land it was seldom that the hierarchy did not echo the social attitudes which were approved by his Majesty's Government.⁹
A

⁹ Tawney: "Relig. and Rise of Capitalism", p. 281.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 18th Century.

In this hundred years there is little to be found of a teaching of social ethics. There was no distinctive contribution. The position of the Church as an authority in the field of social relationships was lost for the time.

The Church accepted the views of the laity. In this period of English history there was an invidious custom of regarding all below the rank of nobility, gentry and freeholders as "the poor". These were of two classes, the "industrious poor", who worked for their superiors, and the "idle poor", who worked for themselves. Therefrom ensued a continual discussion whether the "industrious poor" were worth their keep or not. As a result of which it was warmly denied that public policy had any right to work for the betterment of their condition.¹⁰
^

10 Tawney: "Relig. and Rise of Capitalism", pp. 189-191.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND: The New World.

The policy of the English Government was not in favor of more than a slight concern by English churchmen for the needs of their brethren over the water. Robert Boyle, 1627-1691, for 23 years directed and supported missionary work among American Indians. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was formed.¹¹
^

The thinking of England was colored with golden visions awakened by Spanish luck.

"Why man", ran the lines of a play written in 1605 to laud the glories of America, "all their dripping pans are pure golde, and all the chaines with which they chaine up their streets are massive gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in golde, and for rubies and diamonds they goes forth in holy days and gather them by the sea-shore, to hang on their children's coates and stick in their children's caps, as commonly as our children wear saffron-gilt brooches and groates with holes in 'hem."¹²
^

The second expedition to America transported gentlemen and goldsmiths, who raised so much excitement about riches when they landed that John Smith complained, "There was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold".¹³
^

Episcopalians were not the only ones to come to America primarily and chiefly for business reasons and certainly their chief quest was not religious freedom or the spread of the gospel.

11 Hutton: "English Church", p. 310.

12 Beard: "Rise of Amer. Civilization", p. 38.

13 " : " " " " , p. 39.

As the Bishop of Oxford wrote in 1849, "The Anglo-Saxon tendency is to wander, chiefly for mercantile adventure." He also remarked that the mass of Virginia settlers were men of broken fortunes and ungoverned habits.¹⁴

Furthermore, the colonies became a haven for the thriftless and worthless clergy of England, who were eager to escape debts and other problems at home, and whose acquaintances were so glad to be rid of them that they helped procure parish work for them in America.¹⁵

John Hammond in 1656 wrote:

"Very few ministers of good conversation would adventure thither (to Virginia) yet many came, such as wore black coats and could babble in a Pulpit, roare in a tavern, exact from the Parishioners, and rather by their dissoluteness destroy than feed their flocks. The country was loath to be wholly without teachers, and would therefore rather retain these than be destitute, yet endeavors were made for better in their places, which were obtained, and these wolves in sheep's clothing were questioned, silenced and some forced to depart the country."¹⁶

14 Wilberforce: "Hist. of P. E. Church", pp. 16, 33.
 15 Tiffany: "Hist. of the P. E. Church", p. 266.
 16 " : " " " " " " , p. 28.

AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Effect of Social Conditions upon Religion.

The Protestant Episcopal Church had its beginning in what is now the United States at the landing in Jamestown, Va., in the year 1607. To this colony we are giving much of our attention because here the Episcopal Church was proportionately strongest.

As Woodson observes, the Colonies were not being populated fast, and it was not an easy matter to induce young clergymen to try their fortunes in the wilderness of the new world for such remuneration as the colonists in their scattered and undeveloped economic organization were able to give.¹⁷

Saintly Bishop Meade of Virginia, in the early 19th century, remembered with sorrow and indignation the addiction of 17th and 18th century colonial clergy to race-field, card-table, ball-room, theatre, and drunken revels. One, he said, was for years president of a jockey club, abandoned the ministry, and fought a duel. Another preached four times a year against the four sins of atheism, gambling, horse-racing, swearing, for a hundred dollar legacy, but practiced all the vices himself.¹⁸

Among the more exceptional and consecrated priests of the Church was Commissary Blair, who was the nearest in authority to a bishop that the colonists had until after the Revolution.

17 Woodson: "Hist. of the Negro Church", p. 21.

18 Meade: "Old Churches, Ministers and Families in Va.", p. 18.

In 1662 he wrote a letter to Governor Seymour bespeaking a concern for the souls of both negroes and whites. The Governor's reply was, "Souls! Damn your souls! Make tobacco." We infer that most of the clergy of the day lacked sufficient evangelical zeal to withstand such an order.¹⁹
^

William Crawshaw, preacher at the Temple in London in the 17th century, said before Governor de La Warr and others, "A Christian may take nothing from a heathen against his will, but in fair and lawful bargain. Let us cast aside all cogitation of profit, let us look at better things." The practice of Christianity in the new world more along these higher lines by Anglicans would have undoubtedly ensued, had they been sent more determined moral teachers as their pastors.²⁰
^

One historian finds that the colonial Church was completely under secular control. Vestries were close corporations (as all too many have been during the subsequent three centuries). Accordingly the tendency was for the Church to be controlled by the local aristocracy. Since it did not on the whole reach the lower classes, its ratio to the population of Virginia was only as one to twenty.²¹
^ This colony prior to the Revolution included 35 parishes, 164 churches and chapels, 91 clergy. The

19) Tiffany: "Hist. of P. E. Church", p. 34.

20) Sweet: "Story of Religions", p. 41.

21) " : " " " , pp. 53, 57.

exigencies of the War resulted in the reduction of the number of parishes to 72 and of clergy to 28.²²
^

Early in the 18th century Charleston had become a prosperous town, with a rich commerce and fine houses, which were the homes of cultivated and intelligent people. As might be expected, there was a marked division between aristocrat and merchant, induced by the institution of master and slave.²³

It was the Episcopal Church which did and still does command the sympathy of the wealthier classes, who form the mainstay of capitalism.²⁴
^

Property had always ruled in America, openly and without apology.²⁵
^

John Adams remarked "property is as sacred as the laws of God."²⁶
^

22 Tiffany: "Hist. of P. E. Church", p. 47.
23 " : " " " " " , p. 229.
24 Hall: "Relig. Background", p. 212.
25 Parrington: "The Colonial Mind", p. 274.
26 " : " " " " , p. 216.

At the middle of the 18th century England reached, probably, the lowest moral and religious point in her history. It may be accounted for in part as a result of the "cold barren deism which then possessed the popular mind."²⁷
^

So it is fair to say that the state of the Church in America was a reflection of the same in England. The names of Paine and Jefferson loomed large in influence.²⁸
^

Georgia was the single American colony founded to carry out a program of benevolence (1732). The fine spirit of James Edward Oglethorpe suggested and promoted its establishment as a haven for debtors, imprisoned by the harsh and unreasonable laws of the age, wasting their lives in English jails. Oglethorpe's chaplain was the Anglican, Henry Herbert, D.D.²⁹
^

Whitefield, who had been ordained priest by the Bishop of Gloucester in 1739, founded his Bethesda Orphanage in Georgia in 1740. On his visits among other colonies he was received in some Episcopal churches in Philadelphia and excluded from others.³⁰
^

Though the SPG had helped maintain thirteen Church of England missions in Georgia, the Episcopal Church had disappeared from this colony by the conclusion of the Revolutionary War.³¹
^

27 McConnell: "History", p. 165.

28 Meade: "Old Churches, Min. and Fam. in Va.", p. 14.

29 Tiffany: "Hist. of P. E. Church", p. 249.

30 " : " " " " , p. 250.

31 " : " " " " , p. 265.

A typical description of the use to which church property was to be put appears in a deed of 1702 providing for the erection of a church at Burlington, N. J., "and other buildings as occasion may serve for charitable uses". For this same church it appears that the provincial legislature granted a lottery for the repair of the building. This sort of thing was fairly common at the time.³² On the other hand, diocesan and national conventions of the Episcopal Church have passed resolutions stating that lotteries and raffles were inconsistent with the profession of a Christian, e.g., the resolution of 1874 in Virginia.³³

The colonial church in Rhode Island joined, properly, in upholding the accustomed New England virtues of good citizenship for all classes, namely, honesty, sobriety, thrift, economy and industry. There the Episcopal Church's emphasis in social ethics was one with that of the Calvinistic nonconformists. We accept such as commonplaces today, but they were not all lifted quite so high among the easier-going planters of the south.³⁴

The period from 1790 to 1812 may be described as that of "suspended animation" of American Christianity in general.³⁵ Then came the Great Awakening.

32 Hills: "History", pp. 275, 292, 706.

33 Dashiell: "Digest", p. 320.

34 Tiffany: "Hist. of P. E. Church", p. 113.

35 Sweet: "Story of Religions", p. 322.

A typical description of the use to which church property was to be put appears in a deed of 1700 providing for the erection of a church at Burlington, Vt., "and other religious as occasion may serve for charitable uses". For this reason it appears that the original land grant was intended as a lottery for the benefit of the religion. This sort of thing was fairly common at the time.² On the other hand, diocesan and national conventions of the Episcopal Church have passed resolutions stating that lotteries and similar were inconsistent with the precepts of a Christian, e.g., the resolution of 1878 in

Virginia.³

The colonial church in Rhode Island joined, properly, in valuing the accustomed New England virtues of good citizenship for all classes, namely, honesty, sobriety, thrift, economy and industry. There the Episcopal Church's emphasis in social ethics was one with that of the Calvinistic nonconformists. Its society such as commonplace today, but they were not all limited to the early-point planters of the south.⁴ The period from 1700 to 1800 may be described as that

of "uninterrupted emulation" of American Christianity in general.⁵ Then came the Great Awakening.

23. Miller: "History", pp. 178, 179, 180.
24. Deane: "History", p. 180.
25. "Report of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, p. 11.
26. "History of Religion", p. 181.

CHANGES EFFECTED BY REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

In 1802 the Church's property in Virginia was swept away at a stroke. The steady decline of the Church's power here reached its low point. Glebelands and churches were sold for a song. The proceeds, by legislative enactment, were to be "used for any public purpose not religious", but were generally embezzled by the sheriff's officers. Guzzling planters "toped from stolen chalices and passed the cheeses about in patens". A marble font was used for a horse-trough.³⁶

As Niebuhr describes, the Episcopal Church was confined to the settled area of the early East as a result of constitutional limits and the cultural character of her membership. Therefore, unfortunately, the Church was isolated from the vivid, popular religion of the frontier, as it was from Wesleyanism in England. Furthermore it represented interests of which frontiersmen were most suspicious. It has been found that 80% of Revolutionary patriots were Dissenters and 75% of Loyalists were Episcopalians.³⁷

Niebuhr further points out understandingly that, as the English state religion in revolting English colonies Anglicanism faced one of the most difficult problems a major religious body has had to meet in America. He regards it as "one of the

³⁶ McConnell: "History", p. 287.

³⁷ Niebuhr: "Social Sources", pp. 146, 290.

most admirable facts in the Church history of the United States that an American Episcopal Church could be organized from the remnants of the ancient Anglican tradition after the crushing blows during the Revolution".³⁸

It is significant, for the purpose of this essay, to note that in this reorganization every mark of a political character was erased, in contrast with previous tradition. The Church became one which "hath ever renounced all political association and action". This fact was important during and after the Civil War in that the Episcopal Church as such suffered practically no loss in its national character.

This type of internal unity undoubtedly accounts for the Church's conservative distrust of and dissociation from movements for moral reform, though many bishops and others, such as Henry C. Potter, as individuals, took a notable part in these extra-ecclesiastical alignments. Protection from preachers' mixing "politics and religion" has long been the fearful or annoyed prayer of many Episcopal laymen, even though "politics" would usually be better rendered "social justice".

Ninety years ago the Bishop of Oxford, in his work upon the American Episcopal Church, remarked that the Church

³⁸ Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 209.

"has been at all times the best adjuster of the balance between rich and poor, between those who have and those who want; she who has redressed the wrongs of those who have no helper". He was speaking out of his own intense conviction regarding slavery, and certainly could he cite many other instances to substantiate his statement, especially in the Church of England.³⁹

But in speaking of the Episcopal Church in America he wrote rather differently.

"Few of the poor belong to it. It is the religion of the affluent and respectable, but by it as yet the gospel is not largely preached to the poor. The pew-holders are the parish, and they elect and pay the clergyman by an assessment on the pews. All this must exclude the poor. This system also keeps the clergyman in a state of servile dependence on his congregation."⁴⁰

Bishop Meade, of Virginia, in one of his official charges during the early 19th century complained of the difficulty of attaching the poor of this world to the congregation.⁴¹

39 Wilberforce: "Hist. of P. E. Church in U. S. A.", p. 296.
 40 " : " " " " " " " , pp. 310, 312, 313.
 41 Dashiell: "Digest", p. 190.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE NEGRO.

The Problems Immediately Following 1619.

In 1619 slavery was introduced into America by the cupidity of some of the colonists in Jamestown, who bought twenty Negroes from a Dutch ship which had stopped for commercial purposes.⁴²

"To have taken the untrained, unrestrained, sensual savage from Africa and to have labored with him until he was made into a self-controlled, virtuous, prayer-loving Christian, was a task which might well have called for the supremest effort of the Christian men and women of Colonial Virginia. We need not be surprised that the hearts of the early Colonists (even those who were especially interested in Christianizing the Negro) grew faint at the prospect before them. This was in part because the opinion was current that the Negro was a beast. That the Negro was regarded by some colonists as only a little above the monkey is almost certainly true. Montesquieu (1783) felt this way strongly."⁴³

"Virginia was the mother of both slavery and presidents".⁴⁴

As the slave population slowly grew the ensuing problems accordingly increased. The behavior of the whites was determined by fear of the barbaric, dialect-speaking na-

42 Tiffany: "Hist. of P. E. Church", p. 23.

43 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 13.

44 Williams: "Hist. of the Negro Race", p. 115.

tives of Africa, coupled with violently repressive measures for the purpose of intimidation. As the Negroes became more civilized and able to be understood, the institution of slavery soon came to be taken for granted, especially since the slaves were found increasingly useful for plantation work.

The fear motive was always in the minds of the whites. Opposition to evangelizing the Negro in Virginia was never so intense nor so widespread. But a man was considered by some a dullard, or almost an ass, if he dared to advocate the christianizing of slaves.⁴⁵
^

A lady of consecrated character living in Barbadoes said to Godwyn (1680): He might as well have baptized puppies as baptized Negroes. The Barbadoes Islanders argued that as long as the slaves were not baptized God required nothing of them, and the administration of baptismal rites merely tempted God and unnecessarily exposed the baptized to the horrors of eternal damnation to which their certain failure to live upright, Christian lives must inevitably consign them.⁴⁶
^

Slavery helped create an atmosphere unfavorable to the existence of dependable and intelligent workmen. At the same time the presence of slaves served to place a mark of reproach on those whites who were compelled to do manual labor.⁴⁷
^

45 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 37.

46 " : " " , p. 36.

47 Tiffany: "Hist. of P. E. Church", p. 39.

It is however only just to note that according to one who has for many years made a scholarly and sympathetic study of Negro history in America, the large majority of slaveholders felt a genuine compassion and an honorable responsibility for the helpless human beings brought under their care.⁴⁸ If we today have considered immigration a major problem in American life, we may remind ourselves that it becomes insignificant in comparison with the work of trying to assimilate the thousands of imported Negroes. The question concerning the Church is, why did not her leaders, clergy in particular, take a strong stand against introducing slavery into the new world?

In 1624 there were 22 Negroes in Virginia; in 1649, 300; in 1671, 2000; in 1683, 3000, with rapid increase toward the end of the century. Travelers had little opportunity to know the slaves' religious state since it would hardly have been in good taste for visitors to delve into the lives of a host's slaves. The Negro problem was not so clearly recognized in the 17th century as now. If we could have been sitting by the fireside when John was talking to Mann or William or Jacquelin about the slaves; and could have realized how anxious coming generations would be to know the facts, what a mass of information we should have copied!⁴⁹

48 Bratton: "Wanted--Leaders!", p. 173.

49 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 25.

PAROCHIAL MINISTRATIONS TO NEGROES.

Baptisms of Negroes in Virginia did take place as early as 1623. In 1641 a Negro, John Graween, the servant of William Evans, was exceedingly desirous that his child "should be made a Christian and brought up in the fear of God and in the knowledge of religion taught and exercised in the Church of England."⁵⁰
 ^

By accumulations from the sale of hogs which his master permitted him to keep upon half shares, Graween eventually purchased the freedom of his child. The court declared that the disposing and education of the child should be in the hands of the child's father and godfather, who undertook to see that it should receive an education in the Christian belief.

50 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 38.

In 1645 Francis Pott of Northampton County had two Negro children bound to him and by the terms of the indenture he not only bound himself to furnish them sufficient meat, drink, clothing and lodging but also to use his best endeavors to rear them in the fear of God and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ. "Even if owners of Negroes were not impelled by Christian motives, it would very naturally be to their best interest to give their slaves a knowledge of the rudiments of reading and writing. And how acceptable the Bible was for a text-book in those days!" ⁵¹
^

What leadership did the Church furnish? The character of most of the colonial clergy, previously described, may be a sufficient answer. Their preoccupation with non-ministerial pursuits often left them little time to devote to the elevation of the whites, to say nothing about the elevation of the Negroes. ⁵²
^ But the other side is also defended:

"It is because of an utter, almost studied misapprehension of the sincerity of the religious life of the Colonial settlers of Virginia that Negroes have been led to believe that they received no care religiously in the early part of the 17th century." ⁵³
^

51 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 39.

52 Tiffany: "Hist. of P.E. Church", p. 39.

53 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 40.

"The Established Church did much more work for Negroes than it has ever been given credit for doing." ⁵⁴
^

To meet the dilemma between the object of Christianizing the heathen and possibly giving up the enslavement of the baptized, in 1667 a law was passed enabling the baptism and Christian instruction of slaves without necessitating their freedom. ⁵⁵
^

Early parish registers, etc. were largely destroyed, thereby removing a large body of conclusive evidence about the extent of Negro baptisms and memberships. ⁵⁶
^

"This fact must be remembered: the Negro was not merely to have religion poured into him, after the fashion which we adopt in giving medicine to children, but there was a tremendous responsibility on him to show a life that proved the presence of Christianity in his heart. Failure to do this would discourage many a slave-holder, doubtful as to the ability of the slave to assimilate the strength-giving parts of religion." Yet this most difficult work was committed to men grown weary with years. Thus the Rev. Charles Bridges of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover Co., wrote to the Bishop of London, complaining that both he and the Commissary grew old in years and the world began to hang heavy on them. He aroused himself from a nap and called upon the Commissary; but

54 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 44.
55 " : " , p. 41.
56 " : " , p. 43.

sleep had claimed him by that time and then he was ready to fall asleep again himself. What could possibly be expected of sleepy old men in such a cause? The most intelligent missionary secretaries of the present day would have found tremendous obstacles in their way to perform the great task of Christianizing the Negroes; yet these agents were so old and so lacking in enthusiasm in the work that they fell asleep while talking on the subject.⁵⁷
^

The Church of England divines, thwarted by the old English doctrine that Christians must be free, were relieved by formal declarations of the Bishop of London and by legislation by the Colonial Assemblies, abrogating the law that a Christian could not be held a slave. This was a doubtful benefit to the slaves, but it gave the preachers access to the bondsmen, and missionaries began proselytizing and teaching in the colonies.⁵⁸
^

It seems fair also to infer that the low estimate of the intrinsic value of a human being, which slavery unconsciously creates, had operated to put an end to the missionary work among Indians,—which object had been included in the charter of the colonists who came over in 1607.⁵⁹
^

57 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 45.

58 Embree: "Brown America", p. 62.

59 McConnell: "History", p. 192.

NEGRO EDUCATION.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded in England in 1701, in order to evangelize Negroes, as well as whites and Indians.

This Society (SPG) of the established Church of England organized in London a movement to succor Indians and negroes through both ministers and schoolmasters, who were required "to instruct the children, to teach them to read the Scriptures and other poems and useful books, to ground them thoroughly in the Church catechism". New impetus was given when Bishop Secker in 1741 suggested the employment of specially chosen Negroes to teach others.⁶⁰

The Negroes are indebted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for most of their early enlightenment.⁶¹

Rev. Samuel Thomas established an SPG school in Goose Creek Parish, S. C. He ministered to about one thousand slaves and brought many of them to the point of reading the Bible distinctly. Such schools were greatly multiplied throughout the colonies, as time went on.⁶²

The Anglican Church was officially very mindful of its duty toward the slaves. In 1727 the Bishop of London

60 Embree: "Brown America", pp. 62-63.

61 Woodson: "History of the Negro Church", p. 102.

62 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 62.

urged religious instruction of the slaves. The S.P.G. purchased two Negro youths whom it educated to become teachers in Carolina. Those Negroes baptized were brought into full membership with the Church. Rev. Samuel Thomas, in 1705, administered Holy Communion in Goose Creek Parish, to 30 persons, including one Negro man. Twenty slaves came constantly to church. In some congregations half of the attendants were Negroes. Similar conditions prevailed in Philadelphia and Newport.⁶³

After 1702 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ("S.P.G.") was the most active missionary agency for conversion in the colonies: catechists were specially appointed to work among the slaves; missionaries and school-masters were sent out; literature distributed and schools established for Negro instruction. In 1723 a group known as "Associates of Doctor Bray" (The Rev. Thomas Bray, Commissary to Maryland), which included Benjamin Franklin among its members, came into being with the special aim of giving religious instruction to Negroes. This organization opened schools in Philadelphia in 1758, and others in New York City, Newport and Williamsburg. A third agency working for Negroes was the Society

63: Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 240.

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68: "Colonial Sources", p. 280.

for Promoting Christian Knowledge, (SPCK) which operated in Georgia from 1738 to 1776. But with all this activity few Negroes were converts. ⁶⁴

Dr. William Dawson became Commissary in 1743; from the first he seems to have felt the burden of the enslaved race. In that year he wrote to the SPCK asking for various tracts on "charity schools, work-houses and hospitals which will be useful in the establishment of Negro schools in our metropolis." ⁶⁵

The Church was the agency for carrying out the laws of Negro apprenticeship. ⁶⁶ The earliest systematic effort toward Negro education was in 1691, when the Church in Virginia was appointed to see that negro youths were taught to read, as well as trained in a particular kind of work. ⁶⁷

- 64 Bowen: "Divine White Right", p. 90.
- 65 Goodwin: "The Colonial Church in Va.", pp. 146-147.
- 66 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 19.
- 67 Bratton: "WAnted--Leaders!", p. 144.

In 1727 Bishop Gibson sent out two pastoral letters, one to masters and mistresses of families, exhorting them to encourage and promote "instruction of their negroes in the Christian faith", and the other to missionaries in the plantations to do their duty in this matter.⁶⁸^

In the spring of 1752 the Rev. Clement Hall, a native of England who was reared in North Carolina, wrote that he had during his ministry of seven or eight years, traveled 14,000 miles, delivered 675 sermons, baptized 5,783 white children and 243 negro children, also administering adult baptism to 57 white persons and 112 negroes.⁶⁹^

68 Goodwin: "The Colonial Church in Va.", p. 145.

69 Haywood: "Lives of the Bishops of N. C.", p. 20.

EDUCATION OBSTRUCTED BY FEAR.

It was feared that Christianity would bring education and uprising. (e.g. Nat Turner revolt near Cross Keys, Southampton County, Va. 1831).⁷⁰ Subsequently the slave code was made harsher.

"In a moral and religious sense the slaves of Virginia received little or no attention from the Christian Church. All intercourse was cut off between the races. Inter-marrying of whites and blacks was prohibited by severe laws. The most common civilities and amenities of life were frowned down when intended for a Negro. The plantation was as religious as the Church and the Church was as secular as the plantation. The 'white Christians' hated the Negro and the Church bestowed upon him a most bountiful amount of neglect. Instead of receiving religious instruction from the clergy, slaves were given to them in part pay for their ministrations to the whites. It was as late as 1756 before any white minister had the piety and courage to demand instruction for the slaves."⁷¹

The legislature of Virginia was interested in the welfare of the Negroes but it was undoubtedly many, many times more interested in preserving the lives of the white people of the State. "Unselfishness is a beautiful virtue, but in the presence

70 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 250.

71 Williams: "Hist. of the Negro Race", p. 131.

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care of the Negroes but it was unthinkingly wrong, many times more
interested in preserving the lives of the white people of the
State. "Uncivilization is a beautiful virtue, but in the presence

1. Niebuhr: "Social Progress", p. 260.
2. Williams: "Hist. of the Negro Race", p. 121.

of cut-throats a man is very prone to look out for his own neck rather than the interests of the cut-throats."⁷²
^

At the same time the Church persistently refused to make slavery a matter of discipline of the whites, i.e. in the direction of manumission and the abolition of slavery, as did the Methodist body, in colonial days and afterward.⁷³

Slavery had been defended on the basis of the Negro's heathendom. But the churches permitted it with the assurance that Christianity did not interfere with civil property, having rather to do with lusts and other sins.⁷⁴
^

In South Carolina there was a law against teaching slaves to read or write, resulting therefore in no educated preachers. If a Negro desired to preach to his fellow-slaves, he had to secure written permission from his master. While Negroes were sometimes baptized into the communion of the Church,--usually the Episcopal Church--they were allowed only in the gallery, or organ-loft, of white congregations, in small numbers. "No clergyman ventured to break unto this benighted people the bread of life. They were abandoned to the superstitions and religious fanaticisms incident to their condition."⁷⁵

The Church came to teach that civil liberty was not

- 72 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 59.
- 73 Woodson: "History of the Negro Church",
- 74 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 249.
- 75 Williams: "Hist. of the Negro Race", p. 300.

a question subject to her authority. In other words, the Episcopal Church accepted race discrimination and Negro inferiority. Her relationship to the colored race was patriarchal rather than fraternal.⁷⁶ Indeed, slavery was sometimes described as a sacred institution.⁷⁷ George Whitefield was also a defender of slavery while he was in Georgia in 1740.⁷⁸

"Old Testament heroes had been masters of slaves. Paul counselled obedience to masters and returned the runaway Onesimus to Philemon. The incompatibility of chattel slavery with the counsel of love was more evident to the Northern church-goer than to the Southerner. The South idealized the patriarchal relations of kindly lords to child-like servants, the North was more aware of the atrocities of domineering slave-drivers and of the brutalities of the slave-market."⁷⁹

"Race discrimination is so respectable an attitude in America that it could be accepted by the church without subterfuge of any sort. Rationalization has been and is used to defend discrimination, also the mythological interpretation of the curse of Ham. The church has accepted the dogma of negro inferiority as that of female inferiority. Racial schism is primarily a phenomenon of American religious life. Nearly 90%

- 76 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", pp. 78, 236, 249.
- 77 Williams: "Hist. of the Negro Race", p. 133.
- 78 Tiffany: "Hist. of the P. E. Church", p. 262.
- 79 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 191.

of all Negro Christians are members of churches which are restricted to their race."⁸⁰
 ^

Knowing as we do the Church's conservative record from the Council of Nicea to 1928, we find it hard to disagree with the statement of at least one student of the subject that the Episcopal Church's attitude regarding slavery was that she was "on the side of property".⁸¹
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80 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 236.

81 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 22.

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PAROCHIAL MINISTRATIONS TO NEGROES.

Effect of Baptism upon Their Status.

Before 1700 the Bishop of London made the following pronouncement, securing both the spiritual and the economic harvest of slavery: "Christianity would make the least alteration in civil property: that is, the freedom which Christianity gives is a freedom from the bondage of Sin and Satan, and from the domination of those Lusts and Passions and inordinate desires: but as to their outward condition they (the slaves) remain as before even after baptism." Furthermore, the scriptures contained sound advice on the duty of servants to their masters.⁸²

Early in the 18th century, as soon as the overlordship of the Bishop of London had been definitely established by George I, Bishop Gibson became deeply interested in the condition of the negroes in America. We are told he never showed any hesitation when by "his entreaties or precepts he could hope to urge forward the work of Christian love in behalf of the Negro Slave." (History of the Colonial Church, J.S.M. Anderson, Vol. III, p. 445)⁸³

For long the Church faced the dilemma of baptizing slaves, knowing the medieval and patriotic teaching that no baptized Christian could be a slave.⁸⁴ (An unwritten law of Christendom was that fellow-believers could not be held as slaves).⁸⁵ Fear also thwarted baptism,--lest it should lead

82 Bowen: "Divine White Right", p. 8.

83 Goodwin: "The Colonial Church in Va.", p. 144.

84 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 130.

85 Bragg: "Hist. of Afro-Amer. Group", 181

to negro ascendancy. Some Negro baptisms did take place, however, as early as 1623.⁸⁶ ^

Toleration in the masters' churches was a means of preventing uncontrolled Negro organizations. Masters often felt that christianizing made the slaves less diligent and destroyed the owner's property rights.

In North Carolina, in 1709, a clergyman of the Established Church complained "that masters will not allow their slaves to be baptized for fear that a Christian slave is by law free."⁸⁷ ^

Clergymen, despite the law, were reproached for taking Negroes into the church and still allowing them to be held as slaves.

In 1718 and 1719 the Rev. Ebenezer Taylor, at Albemarle, S. C., took great pains to instruct negro and Indian slaves, several of whom he baptized. He was stopped in this good work by popular prejudice, which shows itself again and again in Colonial days, that the slave who was baptized was thereby manumitted.⁸⁸

In 1732, Bishop Berkeley reported that few Negroes had been received into the Church.⁸⁹ ^

86. Bragg: *Hist. of Afro-Amer. Group*, 181

87. Dubois: "The Negro Church", p. 9.

88. "Sketches of Church Hist. in N. C.", p. 64.

89. Dubois: "The Negro Church", pp. 10-11.

THE GREAT AWAKENING.

The vast majority of Negroes in Virginia, as elsewhere in the colonies, "lived and died strangers to Christianity. With comparatively few exceptions the conversion of Negro slaves was not seriously undertaken by their masters." (Amer. Hist. Review, XXI 504.) "This seeming indictment of the Church of England authorities does not seem so severe when we note that only a small percentage of all the people in any of the colonies were members of the church until the third decade of the 18th century while at the opening of this same century in Virginia not more than one in twenty persons were church members." (Amer. Hist. Review XXXV 887.) ⁹⁰
 ^

The greatest handicap in the ministrations of the Established Church was its lack of emotionalism and a spirit to fire the masses. "The functionaries of this body, clinging to European conceptions of religion, were unable to sense the nascent evangelism of the American people with its insistence on the sinfulness and depravity of man, a condition which in turn called for his thorough regeneration." ⁹¹
 ^

The first great religious movement which made any serious impression on the rank and file of the American colonists was the revival or series of revivals known as the Great Awaken-

90 Jackson: "Religious Development of the Negro", p. 169.
 91 " : " " " " " , p. 170.

ning. This marks the beginning of an aggressive American Christianity, extending from about 1740 to 1790.⁹²
 ^

The revivals of this period stood for equality in religion. Social rank counted for nothing with the preachers of the day. The church was now open to all alike--rich, poor, learned and ignorant, slaves and freemen. (Gewahr, "The Great awakening in Virginia", p. 187).⁹³
 ^

Another very important feature of the Great Awakening which these preachers represented was that it stood for the amelioration of the common man not only with respect to religion but also in his social and civil capacity. This great movement was a manifestation of the spirit of the American Revolution, or a development from the great democratic wave which produced this event. (Gewahr, p. 187.) That equality in worship and government which the dissenters practiced in their churches they also demanded in the state.⁹⁴
 ^

The year 1790 represents the close of an epoch in the religious and social history of Virginia inasmuch as the continuous and combined revivals now came to an end. These revivals had served as a leveling agency in Virginia society whereby class distinctions were forgotten and rich and poor were brought more near-

92 Jackson: "Religious Development of the Negro", p. 170.
 93 " : " " " " , p. 172.
 94 " : " " " " , p. 177.

ly to the same standards. These revivals served as a distinct boon to the Negro slave, both in his widespread Christianization and in the large increase of manumissions by masters who had been touched by the new religious approach.⁹⁵

"All the denominations and church leaders of the 1790's complained of dead times. The growth in wealth and social standing of many church members, due to flush times in crop production, the invention of the cotton gin, and the general thought of the day that man now must be restrained instead of being given free rein--all tended then to lessen the ardor of church people in the evangelization of the blacks. Liberty to this class was now an unsafe thing so white authorities reasoned, for was there not the example of the revolution in Haiti and Gabriel's attempted insurrection? From the religious angle the changing attitude was given expression in the act of the General Assembly of 1804 declaring all meetings of slaves at any meeting house an unlawful assembly." (Statutes at Large, new series, Vol. III 1803-1808, p. 108.)⁹⁶

95. Jackson: "Religious Development of the Negro", p. 179.
 96. " : " " " " " , p. 181.

EFFECTS OF THE GREAT AWAKENING.

The Great Awakening and preaching of Jonathan Edwards were responsible for the Negroes' characteristic type of religion, not in evidence previous to it.⁹⁷
 ^

"The heart depressed by drudgery, hardship and forlornness craves not merely moral guidance but exhilaration and ecstasy."⁹⁸
 ^ The Great Revival, among other things, stirred an interest in the Negro. Great credit indeed must be given to non-Episcopal religious bodies for this kind of evangelical work as well as for their penetration of mid-western wildernesses. An interesting and possibly true judgment is this: "The Methodists would probably have made better Christians, and the Episcopalians more, had each combined the methods of both", particularly among the Negroes.⁹⁹
 ^

Colonial Episcopal churches generally had a slave gallery. This feature certainly was a large factor in Christianizing the Negroes and as an educational and cultural agent. On the other hand, as a contributor to the idea of negro inferiority it was important in inspiring the colored people to provide themselves with their own chapels, where they might worship independently and according to their own preference.¹⁰⁰
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John Davis, an English traveler, found that about half

97 Bragg: "Hist. of Afro-Amer. Group", p. 149.

98 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 262.

99 Bragg: "Hist. of Afro-Amer. Group",

100 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", pp. 248, 254.

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John Lewis, an English traveler, found that about half

87. Briggs: "Hist. of Afro-American Church," p. 112.

88. Williams: "Social Sources," p. 282.

89. Briggs: "Hist. of Afro-American Church," p. 112.

90. Williams: "Social Sources," p. 282.

of the congregation of Pohick Church was white and the other half black. He and Parson Weems both praised the Negroes' piety, simplicity, sincerity, attentiveness.¹⁰¹

"Little relief from such a condition could then be expected when almost all institutions of the plantation section approved slavery. The Negro church was not allowed in the South. The independent movement was stopped because of insurrections. Negroes, too, were forced to accept thereafter what accommodations were given them in the white churches. They gradually yielded room, then, to the increasing membership of the whites until the blacks were forced to the galleries or compelled to hold special services following those of the whites."¹⁰²

It was economically profitable to the whites to keep the Negroes satisfied and have them honest,--therefore help for the Negro preacher and the Negro church.¹⁰³

- 101) Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 56.
- 102) Woodson: "Hist. of the Negro Church", p. 116.
- 103) Mays and Nicholson: "Negro Church", p. 7.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COTTON GIN.

The invention of the cotton gin brought an immediate and rapid increase in the importation of slaves and in the extension of the institution throughout the plantations of the South.

The cotton gin was of incalculable significance in the history of the Negro. The fate of hundreds of thousands was sealed. In 1791, 38 bales were exported from the United States. In 1816, cotton exported was worth \$24,106,000.¹⁰⁴
^

"On the other hand, the development of the cotton industry, due to the invention of spinning machinery in England and Eli Whitney's cotton gin in America, had been prodigious, so that by 1803 cotton had out-distanced tobacco and become the leading staple of the South. Cotton raising fitted in to the agrarian life of the South, and the profits illimitable. The South went in for more and ever more land; the North for factories. The foundations of the 'Cotton Kingdom' of the lower South were already being laid, and the transference of leadership from Virginia to South Carolina and the Gulf was imminent."¹⁰⁵
^

"Indeed, there would have been no 'Old South' of great plantations had it not been for the machines. Cotton would have remained a very minor crop had Whitney or some one else not invented the cotton gin and Arkwright and others the spinning jennies which built up Lancashire and made the Southern Cotton Kingdom of 1860 believe it could rule the world by cutting off the supply of raw material."¹⁰⁶
^

104 Brawley: "Social History", p. 77.

105 Adams: "America's Tragedy", p. 52.

106 " : " " , p. 402.

HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS.

In the latter years of the 18th century there were, no doubt, more than one planter whose Christian conscience would lead them to say, as did that of Richard Randolph, of Roanoke:

"With regard to the division of the estate, I want only to say that I want not a single Negro for other purpose than his immediate liberation. I consider every individual thus unshackled as the source of future generations, not to say nations, of freemen: and I shudder when I think that so insignificant an animal as I am is invested with this monstrous, this horrid power."¹⁰⁷

We may gather from this that such sentiments were not entirely foreign to the Episcopal preaching of the time.

In the years 1760 and following Rev. Alexander Stewart employed a schoolmistress for the purpose of teaching both Indian and Negro children, and he supplied them with books.¹⁰⁸

"This was called religious instruction. Under the system the Negroes were not allowed to read and write, but were taught to commit to memory the principles of religion and instructive parts of the Bible."¹⁰⁹

By 1790 we find that as many as 35,000 Negroes had been freed by manumission in the South.¹¹⁰

- 107 Bratton: "Wanted--Leaders!", p. 111.
- 108 Tiffany: "Hist. of the P. E. Church", p. 244.
- 109 Woodson: "Hist. of the Negro Church", p. 120.
- 110 Bratton: "Wanted--Leaders!", p. 112.

THE NEGRO'S OWN DEVELOPMENT from 1619 to 1800.

Professor Du Bois says that slavery brought the African three advantages: it taught him to labor, gave him the English language and--after a sort--the Christian religion. But it ruined such family life as had existed under a kind of regulated polygamy.¹¹¹
^

"The settlement of the Negro in the New World brought him face to face with new conditions of life to which he was compelled to make adjustment. His status as a slave exposed him to social proscription, economic limitation, and spiritual domination, which were destined to circumscribe him for centuries thereafter.

"As a slave, he had no control of his life. He was considered less than human and was bargained for and sold like any other property. His status in the New World was established as that of one whose task it was to hew wood, draw water and till the soil. He was considered incapable of mental discipline through formal training. He was denied the rights of citizenship which enable one to own property and participate in the affairs of the government. He had to worship and serve God under supervision and close scrutiny.¹¹²
^

"In this strange and somewhat hostile environment,

111 Merriam: "The Negro and the Nation", p. 5.

112 Mays and Nicholson: "Negro Church", p. 1.

it became necessary for the Negro to work out for himself a technique of survival. As a part of his early survival tactics, he learned to smile and dance under circumstances that would ordinarily have caused one to frown and possibly to fight. He developed a keen sense of humor, and this enabled him to release suppressed emotions in a way that did not offend, and at the same time carried him through difficult situations."¹¹³
 ^

"Relatively early the church, and particularly the independent Negro church, furnished the one and only organized field in which the slave's suppressed emotions could be released, and the only opportunity for him to develop his own leadership. In almost every other area, he was completely suppressed. Thus, through a slow and difficult process, often involving much suffering and persecution, the Negro, more than three-quarters of a century prior to emancipation, through initiative, zeal and ability, began to achieve the right to be free in his church. He demonstrated his ability to preach; and this demonstration convinced both Negroes and whites that he was possessed of the Spirit of God."¹¹⁴
 ^

During these two centuries there was going on the continuous process of miscegenation between the Negroes and

113 Mays and Nicholson: "Negro Church", p. 1.

114 " " " : " " , p. 3.

whites. This cannot but have had a profound effect upon the quality of Negro ability and aggressiveness. The rule was that "one drop" of Negro blood classified a person as a Negro. It is possible, however, to reckon this process of change only by the results which we observe in the years that follow.

EARLY 19TH CENTURY.

"Of all the churches the Episcopal, prior to about 1830, did less toward the Christianizing of Negroes than any other church. This was true of all classes in the population since the former established church in Virginia had not yet entirely recovered from the setback of the American Revolution. Bishop Meade was the man who eventually transformed the Episcopal Church in Virginia and came forward in due time as one of the greatest champions the South produced in the matter of religious instruction for servants."¹¹⁵

It must be mentioned that after 1830 the North became more and more anti-slavery while the South at the same time grew more and more pro-slavery. The subject of religion became greatly mixed up in the controversy which ensued, the one section appealing to the Bible for a condemnation of slavery while the other just as zealously used the Scriptures to defend its peculiar institution.¹¹⁶

Among the causes for the growing devotion of the South toward slavery as we know were the appearance of William Lloyd Garrison's "Liberator" and the insurrection of Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia in 1831. Governor Floyd was certain that it was due to the activity of Negro preachers. It was

115 Jackson: "Relig. Development of the Negro", p. 183.
 116 " : " " " " " , p. 203.

they, he said, who served as "channels through which the inflammatory papers and pamphlets brought here by the agents and emissaries from other states have been circulated among our slaves. The public good requires the Negro preachers to be silenced." In obedience to these thoughts the General Assembly enacted in 1832 that "no Negro ordained, licensed or otherwise" could hold religious or other assemblies at any time, day or night." (Acts of Assembly 1831-32, pp. 20-21.)¹¹⁷_A

Religion for a while became a dangerous thing for the servant class; and where ministers and church people were still concerned about the Christian welfare of the slave population the reactionary state laws stood in the way of their performing certain Christian rites or acts distinct from church worship itself.¹¹⁸

Considering the country at large from 1820 to the Civil War there was a "definite growth of the religious consciousness of the American people." This growth was particularly marked in the fifteen or twenty years prior to the Civil War. On all public occasions orators on the stage or in legislative halls now attempted to prove their contentions by reference to the Constitution or to the Bible. The impetus toward greater

117 Jackson: "Relig. Development of the Negro", p. 204.

118 " : " " " " " , p. 206.

efforts for the Christian uplift of the blacks which now takes place can not be separated from the general widening and deepening of American Christianity during the forties and fifties. This was the time when zealous missionary societies were being rapidly organized and consolidated to answer the needs of the ever-extending western frontier as well as the ever-present need of the heathen in foreign lands.

Along with this missionary spirit of the churches of the time should be noted the attitude of American Christianity whereby all men were thought to be essentially wicked and doomed to perdition. To escape this condition all men must be born again.¹¹⁹

In no American church is this change of front better illustrated than the Episcopal. In 1835 the General Convention of this body changed the constitution of the Board of Missions to include every baptized member of the Church. (McConnell, History of the American Episcopal Church, p. 309.) Episcopalians in Virginia under Bishops Meade, Johns and others became evangelical to a degree approximating Baptists and Methodists.¹²⁰

119 Jackson: "Relig. Development of the Negro", p. 210.
 120 " : " " " " " . p. 211.

BISHOP MEADE'S WORK.

Typical of sermons by the large majority of Protestant clergy of ante-bellum days are these words of Bishop Meade of Virginia about 1840:

"Almighty God hath been pleased to make you slaves here, and to give you nothing but labor and poverty in this world, which you are obliged to submit to, as it is His will that it should be so, etc."¹²¹
A

The Episcopal Church in Virginia under the vigorous leadership of Bishop Meade did not lag at all behind the other denominations in declarations and action looking toward more interest in the spiritual welfare of the servants. In the convention in 1840 a special committee of seven was appointed to report to the next convention the most efficient system of oral instruction of the blacks. (Dashiel, Digest of the Councils of Virginia p. 153.) The early ministry of Bishop Meade was devoted to the slave class. He contended that the Christian religion should be carried to the very doors of the blacks whereby they should either be called into family prayers, or if this were not possible church members should visit them regularly on the plantation.¹²²
A

Generally speaking, the one element lacking in all the Virginia churches, in contrast to that of the states farther south, was the missionary who would labor specifically among the blacks on the plantation. The so-called plantation mission or

121 Bowen: "Divine White Right", p. 110.

122 Jackson: "Religious Development of the Negro", p. 214.

Typical of persons by the large majority of Protestants

of the of anti-bellum days are these words of Bishop Doane of

Virginia about 1850:

"I am fully and truly convinced that the only way to give you a better and more-
to in this world, which you are obliged to submit
to, is in the will that it should be so, etc."

The Episcopal Church in Virginia under the Virginia

leadership of Bishop Doane did not lay at all behind the other

denominations in decisions and action looking toward more in-

terest in the spiritual welfare of the negro. In the conven-

tion in 1860 a special committee of seven was appointed to report

to the next convention the most efficient system of oral instruc-

tion of the blacks. (Doane, report of the committee of Virginia

p. 113.) The early ministry of Bishop Doane was devoted to the

slave class. He contended that the Christian religion should be

taught to the very doors of the blacks whereby they should either

be called into faithful prayers, or if this were not possible counsel

should be given them regarding the situation. 188.

Especially essential, but no element looking in all

the Virginia churches, is concerned to that of the laborer

himself, and the ministry has made a fair contribution toward the

on the plantation. The so-called plantation system on

181. Doane: "Divine Life", p. 113.
182. Doane: "Religious Development of the Negro", p. 114.

chapel where plantation slaves would assemble under the supervision of a special missionary, an institution common to South Carolina and the gulf states, was comparatively rare in Virginia. In contrast to the field hands, however, house servants were always under the influence of Christian teachings, and many families in Virginia, particularly in the cities, invited their servants into family prayers. It was under such a scheme of things that some of the foremost Negro churchmen after the war developed. The present writer is personally acquainted with this excellent custom still prevailing in many Virginia homes.¹²³ A

Practically all Presbyterian and Episcopal slaveholders, and to a great degree the Methodist slaveholders, allowed their slaves to affiliate with the church of their main choice, namely, the Baptist.¹²⁴ A

¹²³ Jackson: "Religious Development of the Negro", pp. 216-217.
¹²⁴ " : " " " " " , p. 233.

BISHOP MEADE: "The evils of slavery."

"While we must acknowledge that the advantage of the African trade, notwithstanding the cruelties accompanying it, has been on the side of that people, both temporally and spiritually; yet can we never be brought to believe that the introduction into and the multiplication of slaves in Virginia have advanced either her religious, political or agricultural interests. But if our loss has redounded to the benefit of Africa, by affording religious advantages to numbers of her benighted sons, who, in the providence of God, have come hither, and especially if it should be the means, by colonization and missionary enterprise, of establishing Christianity in that dark habitation of cruelty, we must bow submissively to the will of Heaven, and allow many of our sister States, with far less advantages of soil, climate and navigation, to outstrip us in numbers, wealth and political power.¹²⁵

"That slavery has produced in many of the sons of Virginia gentlemen idleness and dissipation, who will deny?"¹²⁶

125 Meade: "Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Va.", p. 89.
 126 " : " " , " " " " , p. 90.

"And we must acknowledge that the advantage of the

and even in the case of that people, both because of their
itself; yet can we never be brought to believe that the intro-
duction into and the multiplication of slaves in Virginia have

advanced either our civilization, political or agricultural in-
terests. But if our loss was not confined to the benefit of Africa,

in extending religious advantages to numbers of her people, but
also, and in the providence of God, have come hither, and es-

pecially if it should be to women, by colonization and mis-
sionary enterprises, of establishing Christianity in that dark

habitation of cruelty, we must not additively to the ill of
negroes, and also many of our African brethren, who have been re-

ventages of soil, climate and navigation, to our trip as in
numbers, wealth and political power.

"That slavery was produced in any of the form of

Virginia gentlemen influence and dissipation, who will deny?"

BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

A letter addressed to the Rt. Rev. Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford, England, by "The oldest bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church", Jubilee College, Ill., in August, 1846, states as follows:

"The Episcopal Church in America did in no wise originate slavery. She always raised her voice against it in the then British colonies. She does not think herself called upon to eradicate at once the evil, she rather finds herself cautioned 'lest in eradicating the tares they root out the wheat also.'" (Parker Pillsbury: "The Church as it is", London, 37 Cornhill, 1847).¹²⁷

"The American Church and the African Slave Trade"

John Jay

in the Episcopal Convention of New York

27 September 1860

The following preamble and resolution were offered
by Mr. Jay:

Whereas, This Convention are advised....that
the traffic in African slaves, which the people
of the United States intended should forever
cease after the year 1808, hath been re-
established in the city of New York.....

And whereas, It would appear that the said
trade so flourishes.....for the want of an
enlightened and conscientious public opinion
in this community with respect to the great
wickedness of the said trade

Therefore, Resolved, That this Convention re-
spectfully ask.....that the people may be
warned in the language of the Christian Coun-
cil of London, in 1102, "Let no man presume
from henceforth to carry on that wicked traf-
fic by which men have hitherto been sold like
brute animals."¹²⁸
^

I address myself directly and in open day to this
Council of the Church, upon what the Bishop of Oxford right-
fully calls, "morally, religiously, and politically, the great
question of this country and of this age."¹²⁹
^

The St. Louis Intelligencer, published in a slave

128 Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 3.

129 " " " , p. 9.

State, says:

"The re-opening of the slave trade is an accomplished fact. A fleet of vessels, fitted out in the ports of New Orleans and New York, is engaged in the prohibited traffic, and barracoons and depots have been established in the several large towns near the Gulf, where the freshly imported Negroes are confined, until they can be disposed of to the neighboring planters." 130
A

A correspondent of the New York Times, writing from on board the United States ship Portsmouth, on the coast of Africa, under date of December 20, 1859, says:

"The few months' experience we have had on the coast of Africa has not been altogether thrown away. It has thoroughly convinced us that the whole slave coast is, we may say, lined with slavers, who are generally from New York, cleared from the Custom House, bringing all the appliances of the trade with them, and manoeuvring about on the coast under various pretences and disguises of legal traffic." 131
A

What is the duty of the Church touching the New York slave trade? 132
A

It has been said, first, that the Episcopal Church in this country had always on principle avoided all interference with the question of slavery, and in the next place, that any resolution passed by the Convention against the trade would be a mere paper proclamation--a brutum fulmen--with no practical

130 Mr. Jay's Speech, p.10.
131 " " " , p. 10.
132 " " " , p. 12.

influence whatever.¹³³
 A

Many members of the Convention will remember that in 1846 the majority of the special committee to whom was referred the petition of St. Philip for admission, opposed the admission on the ground of the relation the question bore to "the vexed and irritating question of slavery;" and they remarked---

"By the wise and prudent counsels of the fathers of our Church, our denomination has been hitherto happily free from the agitation of these and kindred questions, and the consequences have been peace and quiet among ourselves and the respect of others."¹³⁴
 A

I propose to show that not only have many individual Bishops and Clergymen, openly and without rebuke, upheld slavery as sanctioned by Scripture and by the Church, that not only have Church periodicals expressed similar views of slavery, approving of its incorporation into the very institutions of the Church, that the Church might grow rich upon the unpaid labor of slaves, but that the General Convention have practically approved of the course of these pro-slavery Bishops and Clergymen--and that Church has thus become the avowed champion and recognized bulwark of American slavery--the ally (sometimes active and again

133 Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 12.

134 " " " , p. 13.

passive) of the political party that has sought to strengthen, perpetuate and extend slavery, and the active promoter at the South of those views in regard to the right of Americans to enslave Africans that have resulted in the revival of the slave trade under the protection of a commercial interest in this city.

You are doubtless aware that in the Slave States of the South, Bishops and Clergymen are numbered among the slaveholders, the slave-breeders and the slave-traders, and that both in the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Delegates have acquiesced in their so acting, never refusing, as I believe, to recommend a clergyman for consecration as a Bishop, for the reason that he was a slave-holder or an advocate of slavery, and never expressing in any way a disapproval of their conduct in this particular.¹³⁵ A

I might refer, Sir, to many Clergymen of the North, some among them prominent divines of this Diocese, who, from the pulpit and in public speeches, have thrown all their influence into the scale of slavery, and descending into the arena of politics, have attempted to persuade their congregations that the Fugitive Slave Act, probably the most wicked statute enacted

¹³⁵ Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 14.

and (two) of the political party that was elected to administration, concentrate and extend slavery, and the active member of the board of those views in regard to the rights of Americans to own slaves. I believe that have resulted in the revival of the slave trade under the protection of a commercial interest in this city.

You are doubtless aware that in the slave States of the South, Africa and elsewhere are numbered among the slaveholders, the slave-owners and the slave-traders, and that both in the case of America and the State of Illinois and the Congress have expressed in their so-called, never-revoked, as I believe, the necessary and sufficient for consideration as a slave, for the reason that as yet a slaveholder is not a slave-owner of slaves, and never expressing in any way a disapproval of their conduct in this particular.

I think, Sir, the many changes of the world, and have then prominent divisions of this country, the free the public and in public opinion, have shown all their influence into the world of slavery, and especially into the world of politics, have attempted to remove their conditions that the political slave, possibly the most abused and abused of all the world.

since that of Nebuchadnezzar, in the time of Daniel, was a binding law; and that it was the duty of all good citizens to reverence it accordingly, and, in obedience to its mandates, to become slave-catchers and tipstaffs.¹³⁶

In 1836, the Rev. George W. Freeman, of Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina, preached from that pulpit in the presence of his Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Ives, that "slavery, as it existed in the present day, was agreeable to the order of Divine Providence," that "no man, without a new revelation from Heaven, was entitled to pronounce it wrong." Subsequently the Bishop recommended the publication of the sermons, "as urgently called for at the present time."¹³⁷

During the eight years following the name of Mr. Freeman obtained an almost world-wide reputation, as the boldest champion among all the sects of the South of American Slavery.

The Bishop of Oxford, in his history of the American Church, quotes the sermons as evidence of "the fearful features of the life of Churchmen at the South," and based upon this, and other evidences of the servility of the American Church to the base spirit of slavery.¹³⁸

The amazement of other English Bishops and Clergymen

136 Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 16.

137 " " " , p. 17.

138 " " " , p. 18.

at the utterance of such sentiments as those of Freeman, were expressed with the utmost frankness. "I have always considered it," said (in 1840) the Bishop of Norwich, "an anomaly that any State professing Christianity could for a moment tolerate a tyranny so utterly at variance with every feeling of justice and humanity; but I never could have believed that any individuals existed, calling themselves Ministers of the Gospel, whose minds were so darkened by prejudice and self-interest, as to avow an approval of slavery and its evil consequences, had I not found them so unequivocally confirmed in the document above mentioned."¹³⁹

The Archbishop of Canterbury, referring to slavery in America and its clerical supporters, remarked: "Christianity and slavery are not to be mentioned in the same day."¹⁴⁰

Politicians, who had long professed to lament slavery as a moral evil--an unfortunate necessity--were prompt to accept the new gospel thus dispensed to them; and there arose a party who swore, almost in the words of Freeman, that slavery was divine in its character, and that it hence became a religious duty to strengthen, perpetuate and extend it.¹⁴¹

Now, in 1844, into Texas and Arkansas and the Indian

139 Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 18.

140 " " " , p. 18.

141 " " " , p. 19.

of the influence of such conditions. The fact that the
 treatment of the negro is the most cruel and
 it is not (in fact) the thing of which "an honest man
 State protection Christianity could for a moment tolerate
 because, as it is the very essence of justice
 and humanity; but I never could have believed that any individual
 self-esteem, calling themselves ministers of the Gospel, should
 think him so degraded a position and self-interest, as to
 have an approval of slavery and its evil consequences, had I
 not found them so unrepentantly confirmed in the records above

mentioned.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, returning to slavery
 in America and its clerical supporters, "officially
 and slavery are not to be mentioned in the same way."
 Politicians, who had been professed to lament slavery
 as a moral evil--and who had been professed to support
 the one moral principle of liberty and more those a party
 who were, placed in the world of freedom, that slavery was a
 vice in the master, and that it would be a reflection on
 to attend on, propagate and extend it.

Now, in 1841, the House of Commons and the British

Mr. J. J. O'Connell, p. 10.
 " " " " p. 10.
 " " " " p. 10.

Territory, the General Convention was to send a Bishop; and they had a long list of faithful Clergymen in every part of our country from whom to choose. After reflecting, doubtless, upon the delicacy and importance of the step, morally, religiously and politically, they....actually chose and consecrated the Rev. George W. Freeman. It was their defiant answer to Churchmen who believed slavery a crime. Never was a choice more significant at the moment, more fraught with momentous consequences.¹⁴²

Mr. President, I have shown that the assumed neutrality of our Church on the question of slavery has been not neutrality but acquiescence and approval; that the harmony of action in which gentlemen are solacing themselves, has been a harmonious co-operation with the supporters and advocates of slavery; an united action on the side of the oppressor and against the oppressed.¹⁴³

Mr. President, let me remind the House of the testimony borne against slavery and the slave trade both by the Church of Rome and the Church of England. Many Roman Pontiffs since Pius II, who in 1462 in a letter to the Portuguese Bishop, condemned those who carried youth into slavery, including Paul

142 Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 20.

143 " " " , p. 23.

III, in 1557, Urban VIII, in 1629, Benedict XIV, in 1748, and ~~the~~ Gregory XVI, in 1829, have faithfully affirmed the truth. ¹⁴⁴
 ^

The testimony of the English Church has been borne by her Prelates with no less distinctness. Take simply the sermons preached before the society for the propagation of Christianity, and you have the testimony of Bishop Fleetwood in 1711; and in the successive years of Bishop Claggett, Archbishop Secker, Bishops Warburton, Green, Newton, Lowth, Law, Thurlow, Moore, Warner, Bagot, Prettyman, Sutton, Vernon, Burgess, Porteus, Horsley, and the countless English Bishops and clergymen of the present century down to the Lord Bishop of Oxford.¹⁴⁵
 ^

Listen to the voice of a former Clergyman of this Diocese, now the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Maryland, in referring to the poor black groaning in slavery. Said Dr. Whittingham,

"Oh that his sighs and tears be not bottled up for witnesses against us,—that his moral degradation and far worse the eternal ruin which must too often be its fruit, be not required at our hands."¹⁴⁶
 ^

Regarding the admission of St. Philip's colored church into this convention, the clerical vote stood to the amazement of the world,

144 Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 23.

145 " " " , p. 24.

146 " " " , p. 25.

Ayes 140, Nays 13.

--More than ten to one for recognizing the negro as an equal brother, in defiance of the popular cry since re-echoed from the bench that "the black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect." That vote tended to stay the tide of infidelity that had its source in the belief that our Clergy with their devotion to forms and to rubrics, were indifferent to the great underlying principles of Christian unity and catholic brotherhood. It deprived the wicked system of caste, that has at times crushed the colored man in the Free States almost to the level with the slave, of the support that the conduct of our Diocese had previously afforded it.¹⁴⁷

That vote, sir, gives me as absolute a confidence of success in the present movement to array the Church against the slave trade that has now become an institution of the Diocese, as if the vote were already recorded by the Reverend Secretary.¹⁴⁸

I move, sir, the adoption of these Resolutions.

Whereas, The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States have established various missions on the coast of Africa,.....

And Whereas there is good reason to believe that the (slave) trade will interfere materially with the said missions, and that a belief on the part of the Africans that those

147 Mr. Jay's Speech, p. 26.

148 " " " , p. 26.

...more than ten to one for recognizing the negro as an equal
 brother, in the face of the former only three recorded from
 the bench that "the black man was no right to the white
 man is bound to respect." That vote tended to show the time
 of infidelity that had led to the belief that the Church
 with their devotion to love and to justice, were indifferent
 to the great unifying principle of Christian unity and equality.
 This proclamation. It renounced the wicked system of caste, that
 has at times crushed the colored man in the free states almost
 to the level with the slave, of the negro that the concept of
 our Ruler had previously affirmed (1.1.17)

That vote, sir, gives us an absolute confidence of
 success in the present movement to secure the Church against the
 slave trade that has become an institution of the disease,
 as if the vote were already recorded by the Reverend Secretary. 288
 I move, sir, the adoption of these resolutions.

...on the part of the African...
 ...there is good reason to believe
 ...the (slave) trade will interfere with
 ...with the said mission, and that a
 ...on the part of the African...

who engage in the African slave trade are Christians, may indispose the Africans so believing to embrace Christianity, and lead them to reject with scorn and indignation the teachings of our missionaries,

Therefore Resolved, that this Convention.....
do hereby.....utterly reject the doctrine
that men may be lawfully kidnapped and held
in slavery by any other persons, and do
utterly condemn the said practice as a
great sin against God and man.

The resolution was laid on the table:

Clergy 55 to 7, Laity 44 to 6.

Not voting:

Clergy 149 Laity 137. 149

NEGRO EPISCOPALIAN INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION.

The first Negro Episcopal congregation was organized in 1794.

With singular unanimity they agreed upon the Episcopal Church; but with conditions well thought out by themselves. Here we have the first instance of "collective bargaining" on the part of the African people in this country. When they had about settled upon the Episcopal Church, in their application and interview, they specified three conditions: First, they were to be received as an organized body. They demanded "status". They would not endure being disbanded and placed in "the galleries of white churches". It was altogether foreign to their mind to become a "dependent" chapel of some white parish. They knew what they wanted. In the second place, they must have a guarantee of local autonomy. So determined were they on this point that the Constitution adopted by them restrained the exercise of the suffrage upon the part of a white, though, for the time being, he was their minister. And, in the third place, they demanded the assurance of a native ministry, such being found fit.¹⁵⁰

They must have a "Status"; they must have the right to choose, and support their own minister, and rule their own affairs. To the everlasting praise of the Episcopal Church these

The first of the two questions was answered

in 1794.

With similar answers they agreed upon the national
theory; but with conditions well known to themselves. Here
we have the first instance of "collective bargaining" on the part
of the African people in this country. When they had agreed
upon the national theory, in their application and inter-
view, they specified three conditions: First, they were to be
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would not enter being dismissed and placed in "the galleries
of white churches". It was also to be for their mind to
become a "separate" chapel of some kind. They knew
what they wanted. In the second place, they must have a guar-
antee of local autonomy. So determined were they on this point
that the Constitution adopted by them retained the exercise
of the suffrage upon the part of a white, though, for the time
being, he was their minister. And, in the third place, they de-
manded the assurance of a native ministry, such being found in 1800.
They must have a "status"; they must have the right to
choose, and support their own minister, and make their own al-
terations. To the overwhelming principle of the national church those

conditions were heartily, fully and promptly accepted. No other religious body, of any name in the United States, had ever dared to concede as much to the people of African descent.

So great was the popularity and influence of Absalom Jones in those early days that, in public estimation, he was styled "The Black Bishop of the Episcopal Church". An English lady, Dorothy Ripley, visiting in this country in 1803, made a trip from New York to Philadelphia for the express purpose of meeting Absalom Jones. Upon her return to New York, she wrote Jones, addressing him as "The Black Bishop of the Episcopal Church". It was a beautiful letter, extolling what she had seen and heard on her visit to St. Thomas' Church. She speaks of "a respectable number of colored people, well dressed and very orderly".¹⁵¹

In the Northern section of the country, whenever colored Episcopal congregations came into being, the original program laid down by Absalom Jones was strictly observed. The racial unit, local autonomy, and a racial ministry, were cheerfully yielded in every case. Two instances exceeded the original compact, upon the part of the African people. The first was, in 1842, when Christ Church, Providence, R. I., was organ-

151 Bragg: "Absalom Jones", p. 14.

conditions were beautiful, fully and promptly accepted. No other
colored people, of any name, in the United States, had ever dared
to concede as much to the people of Africa. Demand.

To grant was the popularity and influence of Absalom
Jones to those early days, in which a nation, he was
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Jones, describing him as "The Black Bishop of the Episcopal
Church". It was a beautiful letter, extolling him as the
first and best on her visit to St. Thomas, Virgin. The people
of "a respectable number of colored people, well dressed and

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model, upon the part of the African people. The first
was, in 1802, when Saint Christ Church, Providence, R. I., was organized.

The church, Saint Christ Church, Providence, R. I.

ized: it was forthwith received into union with the diocesan convention and Negro delegates received and recognized. A similar procedure obtained in the case of St. Luke's Church, New Haven, in 1844. No congregations were organized as missions; all were constituted parishes, with local autonomy.¹⁵² ^

While the Methodists, and later the Baptists, succeeded in appealing to far larger numbers of colored people, other Episcopal parishes were founded by and for Negroes, especially in the larger cities.¹⁵³ ^

William Levington was the founder and first rector of St. James' Church, Baltimore, Md. Thus, Mr. Levington was the first Negro missionary who dared to cross over to slave-holding territory, and, under the protection of Almighty God, in the midst of the auction block and the slave pen, open a free school for Negro children, and establish St. James' First African Church for the benefit of both slave and free persons of color. Shortly after his ordination by Bishop White he came to the City of Baltimore and surveyed the field.¹⁵⁴ ^

The religious life of the Negro in Virginia shows the following sequence: sowing was done in the 17th century; in the early 18th: there was little growth; in the late 18th:

152 Bragg: "Absalom Jones", p. 15.

153 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 256.

154 Bragg: "First Negro Priest on Southern Soil", p. 10.

level: it was forbidden to receive into union with the African
 community and Negro delegates received and recognized. A
 their procedure obtained in the case of St. James' Church, New
 York, in 1844. No correspondence was organized as mission;
 All were constituted parishes, with local autonomy.
 while the Methodist, and later the Baptist, and
 needed in appealing to the larger numbers of colored people,
 other Episcopal parishes were founded by and for Negroes, es-
 pecially in the larger cities.
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 to the City of Baltimore and conveyed the Gospel.
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 the following centuries: nothing was done in the 17th century;
 in the early 18th: there was little growth in the late 18th;

Source: "Social Control", p. 400.
 Source: "First Negro Baptist on Southern Soil", p. 10.

new life; in the latter 19th: harvest.¹⁵⁵
 ^

St. Thomas' Church, Philadelphia, was started just before the organic rise of African-Methodism. "If Bishop White, instead of making Absalom Jones a priest, had consecrated him bishop, to work among his African brethren in this country, the great African Methodist Church today would have been the Episcopal and in full communion with the Church".¹⁵⁶
 ^

In 1823 Bishop Elliott, of Georgia, said in his Convention address: "The religious instruction of our domestics, and of the Negroes upon plantations, is a subject that should never be passed over in the address of a Southern Bishop". The Bishop of Virginia delivered a similar charge.¹⁵⁷ Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, large slave-holder, cared conscientiously for his servants, both materially and spiritually.¹⁵⁸
 ^

Eminent scholars of the South like Elliott have done notable work for educating the Negroes and uplifting them. He summoned his whole people to the work. He held his people to a strict accountability for spiritual and eternal, as well as physical and temporal welfare of the slaves. Negroes looked up to him as their firmest, wisest, noblest friend. Colored Vestrymen acted as pall-bearers.¹⁵⁹
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155 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 103.

156 Dubois: "Negro Church", p. 142.

157 Bratton: "Wanted--Leaders!", p. 241.

158 Tiffany: "History of P. E. Church", p. 495.

159 Elliott: "Sermons and Memoir", p. 15.

now live; in the latter 1840s; however.

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before the opening of the American Revolution. "Mr. Bishop

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poral and temporal welfare of the slaves. Negroes looked up to

him as their friend, wise, a great friend. Colonel Vestry-

was called a self-denier.

180 Bishop: "African American", p. 10.

181 Bishop: "Negro Church", p. 14.

182 Bishop: "Negro Church", p. 24.

183 Elliott: "General and personal", p. 11.

NEGRO DELEGATES TO CONVENTION.

The type of problem that confronted Negro leaders who were members of white denominations is illustrated by the action, in 1854, of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York with reference to the admission of Negro delegates to its Convention. The majority report pointed out that "Society is unfortunately divided into classes—the intelligent, refined and elevated, in tone and character, and the ignorant, coarse and debased. Since, however, unjustly, prejudices exist between these two groups that prevent social intercourse on equal terms, it would seem inexpedient to encounter such prejudices, unnecessarily, and to endeavor to compel the one class to associate on equal terms in the consultations on the affairs of the Diocese, with those whom they would not admit into their pews, during public worship."¹⁶⁰
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A minority report urged their admission on the grounds that refusal would result in a separate racial church: "We fear that refusal of our Convention to admit into their fellowship this portion of their Christian brethren will inevitably lead to a schism in the Church, by the establishment of another Episcopal Church in these states."¹⁶¹
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160 Bowen: "Divine White Right", p. 97.

161 " : " " " , pp.98, 99.

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

Edwin L. Godkin, referring to a scene in a Mississippi swamp in 1856, said,

"The hardships these Negroes go through who are attached to one of these migrant parties baffle description. They trudge on foot all day through mud and thicket without rest or respite. Thousands of miles are traversed by these weary wayfarers without their knowing or caring why, urged on by whip and in full assurance that no change of place can bring any change to them. Hard work, coarse food, merciless flogging, are all that await them, and all that they can look to. I have never passed them staggering along in the rear of the wagons at the close of a long day's march, the weakest farthest in the rear, the strongest already utterly spent, without wondering how Christendom, which eight centuries ago rose in arms for a sentiment, can look so calmly on at so foul and monstrous a wrong as this American slavery." 162
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Despite these conditions, however, there is certainly the other side:

"The whole attitude of the Negroes toward the white population during the Civil War, while a conspicuous tribute to the noble and winning traits of their race, showed unmistakably that their masters had largely won their love, as well as awed them by authority." 163
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Thomas Nelson Page writes: "It is to the eternal credit of the Whites and of the Negroes that, during the four years of war, when the white men of the South were absent in

162 Woodson: "Negro Makers of History", p. 110.
163 Tiffany: "Hist. of P. E. Church", p. 495.

the field, they could entrust their wives, their children, all they possessed, to the care and guardianship of their slaves with absolute confidence in their fidelity.¹⁶⁴ ^

They raised the crop that fed the Confederate Army, and suffered without complaint the privations which came alike to White and Black."¹⁶⁵ ^

"The Episcopal Church was the one great church that did not split on the slavery question, and the result is that its Negro membership before and since the War has been a delicate subject, and the Church has probably done less for black people than any other aggregation of Christians."¹⁶⁶ ^

From the (Negro) Church Advocate: The Journals of Virginia will verify the contention, that during the "before the war" period, while the bishops and a large number of the clergy were always interested in the religious training of the slaves, yet as a matter of fact there was general apathy and indifference upon the part of the laity with respect to this matter.¹⁶⁷ ^

While Northern Churchmen felt deeply averse to slavery, both religiously and politically, they were well aware of the ameliorations which were practiced by many enlightened slave-owners.

164 Bratton: "Wanted--Leaders!", p. 124.

165 " : " " , p. 124.

166 Dubois: "Negro Church", p. 139.

167 " : " " , p. 139.

The question of slavery was not involved; even the question of secession was in the background. The presiding bishop of the Northern church published his conviction that secession was a constitutional right of the states and that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible. The passions of conflict were not engendered and ecclesiastical unity was restored almost as soon as political integrity was re-established.^{168.} [^]

"That there were cases of oppression and violence and grievous wrong, is not to be doubted, for some men, in all countries and all ages, will be violent and oppressive even to their wives and children. But because there have been cases where slave-holders have inflicted cruelty and wrong upon their slaves, it no more proves that cruelty was the characteristic of slave-holders, than it proves that men in the Northern States habitually maltreat their families, because, every now and then, some brute kicks to death a wife or child. People will be to their families--to their wives, children and servants--what they are themselves."¹⁶⁹ [^]

It is probably true that the members of the Episcopal Church in the North and the South were in more friendly relation and had a better comprehension of each other's thought up-

168 Niebuhr: "Social Sources", p. 196.

169 Wilmer: "The Recent Past", pp. 7-18.

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question of secession was in the background. The problem
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"Let there be no more of opposition and violence and
crimes wrong, is not to be doubted, for some men, in all
conditions and all ages, will be violent and aggressive over to
their lives and opinions. But because there have been cases
where slaveholders have inflicted cruelty and wrong upon their
slaves, it no more proves that slavery was the cause of the
of slaveholders, than it proves that men in the Southern States
habitually mistreat their families, because, every now and then,
some brute likes to beat a wife or child. People will be so
their families—to their wives, children and servants—that they
are themselves." 1852

It is probably true that the majority of the population
in the South and the South were in more friendly rela-
tion and had a better comprehension of each other's situation

on the fundamental question than had the members of any other religious or secular body in the country.¹⁷⁰ The Episcopal Church was the only one of the four great protestant denominations which remained sectionally unbroken after the War.¹⁷¹

To return to our English visitor of the 1840's, the Bishop of Oxford, his criticism of the American Episcopal Church is severe and on the whole justified.

"The Church in the Slave States raises no voice against the predominant evil: she palliates it in theory, and in practice she shares in it. The mildest and most conscientious of the bishops of the south are slave-holders themselves."¹⁷²

The anonymous English layman who visited the United States just before the Civil War described the Church in the Slave States as a direct participant in the sin and shame of what they attempted "with so much sophistry to justify as the 'Peculiar Institution'". He further considered the Church in the Free States as "criminally silent".¹⁷³ He insisted that the more the principles of the Church are carried out, the more must slavery be condemned and abhorred.¹⁷⁴

When the great Bishop and ever-loving friend of the black race, Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania, had called to order the Diocesan Convention of 1862, Mr. Douglass had been trans-

170 McConnell: "History", p. 361.

171 Sweet: "Story of Religions", p. 449.

172 Anon.: "Recollections", Vol. II, p. 238.

173 " : " , " II, p. 252.

174 " : " , " I, p. 269.

lated to the rest of Paradise; and Bishop Potter, in referring to him, said: "It hath pleased the Lord to call away from the Church Militant the Rev. William Douglass, rector of St. Thomas' African Church, in this city, where he has ministered for the last twenty-seven years--a man of great modesty, of ripe scholarship, and of much more than ordinary talents and prudence. He is, as far as I am informed, the only clergyman of unmixed African descent who, in this country, has published works of considerable magnitude. In two volumes, one of sermons, and one a history of St. Thomas' Church, he has vindicated his right to appear among our respected divines. As a reader of the Liturgy he was unsurpassed."¹⁷⁵

Slavery, as a civil institution, was never to Bishop Meade's taste. But he believed it recognized by divine authority in the Scriptures, although he considered it politically disadvantageous. He had early manumitted such slaves as he thought capable of taking care of themselves in free states.¹⁷⁶

Meade considered manumission a failure if the freedmen were left to remain in slave states. He counselled masters and servants in the language of St. Paul.¹⁷⁷

- 175 Bragg: "The First Negro Priest on Southern Soil", p. 18.
 176 Johns: "Memoirs of Bishop Meade", p. 476.
 177 " : " " " " , p. 477.

REV. DR. TUCKER: "Ill-advised Northerners."

A few years after the war a party of gentlemen, mostly clergymen, representing a great Northern church, came into Mississippi to visit and inspect the colored churches of their denomination and to devise methods of aiding them. The northern visitors preached and heard certain negroes preach, looked on at the eagerness and earnestness of the colored congregations, listened to the fervent prayers from both men and women, heard the pious talk, the ejaculations of thanksgiving, all the verbal evidences of true religion, and went home saying, "what earnest, what humble-minded, what grand Christians these poor negroes are!" Had they sought information from their white brethren of the same church, South, they would have been told that while the earnestness and fervor were there and were correct enough, yet there was no real substance of religion beneath it; that the very opposite of Christian lives were led by almost every one who listened to them or to whom they listened.¹⁷⁸

178 .Tucker: "Relations of the Church to the Colored Race", p. 15.

PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION.

"Before the war the slaves were given spiritual instruction and care, in the house and at church, where all attended the same service and partook of the same sacraments. People who lived then will sometimes tell, for instance, of a lady who had her daughter confirmed, along with a number of the servants, all dressed in white by the mistress. The custom was for all to receive Holy Communion at the same service, the colored communicants came to the rail after the white people, and had a special part of the church, as the galleries, reserved for them. There was the beginning of specialization, however, in the separate instruction given the negroes, in some separate services for them, and still more in the little chapels on the great cotton and rice plantations, built for negroes alone. A native ministry was as yet undeveloped in the Episcopal Church. Whatever the inherent wrong of slavery, the fact remains that it was an occasion of wide and successful missionary work--the negro servants were all Christianized at least nominally, and probably became at least as really Christian as they would have been if evangelized in Africa." Their behavior during the war was such as to win affectionate commendation from their former owners; it shows that the re-

"None but the slaves were given this in-
 formation and, in the end at least, were all at-
 tended the same service and partook of the same food."
 People who lived then will remember that, for instance, of
 a lady who had her daughter married, along with a number of
 the servants, all directed in white to the kitchen. The dis-
 tinction was not all to receive Holy Communion at the same service,
 the colored communicants came to the table after the white peo-
 ple, and had a special part in the church, as the colored,
 reserved for them. There was the beginning of separation,
 however, in the separate instruction given the negroes, in
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 tary missionary work--the negro servants were all Christianized
 at least nominally, and probably became at least a real
 Christian as they would have been if ever whites in America."

lation of masters and slave was as a matter of fact not less permeated with Christian charity than other relations between ordinary men. Bishop Elliott of Georgia, addressing his diocesan convention in 1866, is eloquent to this effect. He goes on to say that there had been more communicants among the negroes, in proportion to their population, than among the whites. And then, "Any cruelty they may have since exhibited they have learned from other teaching than ours--any barbarism into which they may have since lapsed, they have fallen into after they had passed from under our influence." 179
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"The negro exhorter, representing sometimes one of the new colored churches, sometimes only himself, but at any rate full of the new license, fervid, emotional, exciting, the herald of a gorgeously barbaric millenium, was irresistible." 180
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Every diocese had the same tale to tell, of wholesale defections of the colored members. South Carolina had practically as many colored as white communicants, nearly 3000, in 1860; at the end of the war less than 300 could be found. 181
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The parochial reports all over the South, in 1865-6, give a clear and consistent composite picture of what took place--the rector, sure that he felt the same as always toward

179 Stewart: "Work of the Church in the South", pp. 37-38.
180 " : " " " " " " " , p. 39.
181 " : " " " " " " " , p. 40.

his colored people, and wishing to minister to them as much as ever, was left aghast at finding his church deserted by them, except for a faithful few; when he met them and talked to them, a new distrustful and secretive manner had come over them; they would have none of his ministrations, but would go off in droves to the half-political, half-religious meetings of some new ranter; and he could not think what to do. Bishop J. P. B. Wilmer of Louisiana says in 1867, "The defection from the Church is almost universal. In some parishes I have visited, which a few years ago numbered more than a hundred communicants, not one has come forward to kneel at the altar, and very few enter the church." ¹⁸²

The leaders spoke plainly to the effect that the Church has a grave responsibility for these, its deluded children. "It is the special duty and province of Southern Christians to care for the souls of this still dependent race." (Journal of the Diocese of S. C., 1869, p. 39.) "That the Episcopal Church must come to their rescue is common testimony, or they are undone. Hasten the day which will behold the Church uniting her strength in a prudent, stedfast effort for the mental and moral education of a people whose destiny has been so strange-

182 Stewart: "Work of the Church in the South", p. 41.

ly and inseparably linked with our own." (Bishop J. P. B. Wilmer's Address, Journal of the Diocese of La., 1867.) Southerners were quite sure that they alone understood the negro, and Episcopalians were quite sure that their Church supplied a soberness and self-restraint needed to supplement and correct the negroes' inclinations. One sees an occasional hint that the laity were less enthusiastic than the clergy about winning back the colored people. But there was certainly no lack of urging by the leading clergy, and especially was there no notion of doing what the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians promptly did--turn loose the colored section of the Church to form an "African" Church.¹⁸³ [^]

The truth is, that these Southern clergy, while they could not fail to see the alienation and distrust, thought that the winning back of the negro would not be so very difficult. Bishop Davis says, in 1866, "I have not complete statistics, but am convinced, from observation and information, that in all cases where the colored population shall be reinstated in their former localities, they will return to the communion of of the Church." (Journal of the Diocese of S. C., 1866.)¹⁸⁴ [^]

Bishop Elliott thought the old machinery sufficient

183 Stewart: "Work of the Church in the South", p. 42.

184 " : " " " " " " " " , p. 43.

to do the work. (Journal of the Diocese of Ga., 1866, quoted in Southern Churchman, June 28, 1866.) But practically every one else saw that the older methods, now virtually suspended, must be superseded. It was evident that the negro would have to be granted more independence in Church affairs, having tasted it in other affairs. There must be a certain amount of separation of the races in Church if the colored people were to be retained at all. Separate services and Sunday Schools must be kept up and increased. Nearly all went further and encouraged the organization of separate congregations, with their own places of worship, wardens, vestrymen and so on. Soon every large city had at least one colored church, with at first a white clergyman, generally starting in a building given them by the diocese, having the status of an independent congregation.¹⁸⁵

The preference of the colored people for clergy of their own color was unmistakable; should the Church go so far in granting independence as to give them colored priests? An editorial in the Southern Churchman (April 12, 1866) protests:

"It is notorious that the higher the position gained by these men in reputation and influence in the colored Churches, the more open they often become to the temptations of vanity, sen-

¹⁸⁵ Stewart: "Work of the Church in the South", p.44.

suality and avarice. In general the blacks are antinomians."

But a great deal more was said on the other side, by Bishop Atkinson, Bishop Howe, Bishop Wilmer of Louisiana, and the South Carolina committee on colored work. North Carolina was stirred to enthusiasm over the colored rector of St. Mark's, Wilmington, who "although raised and educated in Boston, is a man of exceptional judgment and tact." ¹⁸⁶
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A substantial work in education was that supported by the Protestant Episcopal Freedman's Commission, which was organized by the national Board of Missions in the fall of 1865. ¹⁸⁷
A

Bishop W. B. W. Howe of South Carolina voiced what a great many felt when he said, "I find myself inclined to think that if our Church is to do any work among this people, it must be done by the Church at large." ¹⁸⁸
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From 1867 to 1882 the negro congregations in Alabama dwindled away to nothing. (Whittaker, History of the Church in Alabama, pp. 195-205.) ¹⁸⁹
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"Through the South generally these phenomena successively appear: first, a general forsaking of the Church, then a partial return, far less than was expected, then a fur-

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| 186 | Stewart: | "Work of the Church in the South", | p. 45. |
| 187 | " : | " " " " " " " " | , p. 46. |
| 188 | " : | " " " " " " " " | , p. 47. |
| 189 | " : | " " " " " " " " | , p. 49. |

ther defection, which ends the fluctuations, leaving the Church with something like 10 or 15 per cent of its former negro membership."¹⁹⁰

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"If we ask why the negro work of the Southern Church had this comparatively futile ending, we must expect a somewhat diffident answer. The clergy labored as heartily as could possibly be expected. Some colored people blamed the lay white people for leaving them too much alone. The white clergy speak of the Church's poverty, and also of the too successful opposition of negro preachers of the various sorts and sects born of the war; but they lay more stress on the negro's characteristics of impulsiveness, irresponsibility, rejoicing in the feeling and the saying of things without the doing and living accordingly. In addition to all this, subsequent developments have brought more clearly into light the real nature of what was done to the negro by emancipation. He was jerked out of tutelage. He has rapidly developed the qualities necessary for life on the new level: he is secretive, shrewdly calculating, often aggressive."¹⁹¹

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Reconstruction, repair, working with old, battered material--that is never so fine as pioneer work. On the whole the rebuilding went as far as in the circumstances could reason-

190 Stewart: "Work of the Church in the South", p. 49.

191 " : " " " " " " " " , p. 50.

ably be expected. 192
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Pastoral Letter of Bishop Green (Miss.):

"Now these once happy congregations are broken up; not one negro has approached me on the subject of religion since their emancipation; they love to go where their animal feelings can be most strongly excited, and in the country they are relapsing into the lowest kinds of superstition which their fathers brought with them from the shores of Africa." (Southern Churchman, Jan. 24, 1867.) 193
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Bishop Thomas Atkinson, after the War between the States, said, "The system of slavery was no doubt defective-- better adapted to the early stage of a people's progress from the savage state than that which they have now reached. We must continue our care for that people; we ought even to increase it. We have surely been, in some degree, delinquent in the past; let us resolve, in God's strength, not to be so for the future." "They feel contempt or rudeness more than a serious injury. Let us inflict none of these on them. Let us raise up colored congregations in our towns, and let our clergy feel that one important part of their charge is to teach and to befriend the colored people; and especially to train, as far as they are permitted to do so, the children of that race." 194
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- 192 Stewart: "Work of the Church in the South", p. 51.
 193 " : " " " " " " " , p. 56.
 194 Haywood: "Lives of the Bishops of N. C.", pp. 133-134.

Only be expected.

LOSSES IN NEGRO CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP.

In 1861 the South Carolina Diocesan Journal records 2379 white communicants and 2373 colored; that of 1872, 3102 white, 618 colored, most of these in Calvary Church and St. Mark's, Charleston. Why was this? The facts are the more astonishing when one reflects upon the universal practice of the Church, during so many generations, of close religious association; upon the success of Christian teaching so apparently universal; upon the complete trust in one another exhibited during the test of war; and the resultant feeling of affectionate gratitude on the part of the white Churchmen.¹⁹⁵

As late as 1879 less than 200 colored communicants were reported in Virginia. 1879-89 was the most glorious period: 1000 communicants, 10 clergy. Bishop Johns' Convention Address, 1869, brought this comment upon it: "What a significant statement! The Episcopal Church, when its white members commanded even the bodies of their slaves, backed by all the prestige and influence of the Church in Virginia, failed to any degree to get hold of the colored people".¹⁹⁶

"After the War, 1865: Episcopalians' studied neglect and discouragement froze, harried, and invited the black communicant to withdraw".¹⁹⁷

195 Bratton: "Wanted--Leaders!", p. 130.

196 Dubois: "Negro Church", p. 140

197 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 106.

After the Civil War, outside colored Episcopal parishes, numbers of Negro communicants fell off greatly, in many places as much as 75%.¹⁹⁸ This may be attributed to the suspicion of the old regime by the Negro, his new-born freedom, the ambition of negro leaders, and the neglect of the Negroes by Episcopalians. The Negro could not determine between the essential wrong of a system, and the blessing which the Church had brought to him in that system. And Church people, by reason of the new relationship set up, and their own heavy burdens, lost many of their previous slaves. For the past seventy years, it must be said, colored Sunday Schools have been taught by devoted men and women of white Episcopal parishes, despite the fact that their pupils during the balance of Sunday afternoons and evenings went joyously to the Baptist and other colored meetings and actually supported those religious bodies.

The method of special services for colored people, "Colored Sunday School", not only failed in antebellum days, but it has also failed in later years since the War. Much good was the outcome of such efforts. But they helped scarcely one iota in church extension or in making churchmen of colored people. The people got the instruction and the material help, and went off

198 Bratton: "Wanted--Leaders!", pp. 130-132.

to the Baptists or Methodists.

"The greatest influence of the Episcopal Church has been of an indirect rather than of a direct character. Her indirect influence on behalf of race welfare has always proven more prolific and constant than her direct witness." Possibly no class of Negroes more truly appreciated and valued all this than the early Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, such as Wayman, Campbell, Brown, Turner, Saltus, Derrick, Embry, and others. They never failed to cherish the warmest affection for the "Mother Church".¹⁹⁹
^

Says Dr. Tucker, in his "Relation of the Church to the Colored Race",

"That the white people were at heart no better than themselves, they (the Negroes) were positive. Had they not proof? Whence came so many mulattoes?"²⁰⁰
^ How can chastity be looked for in less than twenty years after emancipation, when for two hundred years they have been trained to disregard it?²⁰¹
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"Difficulties arise chiefly from the apathy and unreasonableness of the North, the sensitiveness, prejudice and theorizing of the South, the ignorance, the self-indulgence and indolence of the colored people themselves, and the unwillingness of all three to unite in the sacrifice necessary to accomplish the end in view."²⁰²
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199 Bragg: "Absalom Jones", p. 14.

200 Perry: "Twelve Years Among the Colored People", p. 51.

201 " : " " " " " " , p. 52.

202 " : " " " " " " , p. 167.

AMERICAN CHURCH INSTITUTE FOR NEGROES.

Sound inter-racial relations are the responsibility of the nation as a whole. It is increasingly recognized that sound religion and effective education require co-operation with a people rather than for them.—Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund.²⁰³
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"Lifting a people by Christian education is casting up a highway for the Prince of Peace."—Gen. Samuel C. Armstrong, Founder of Hampton Institute.²⁰⁴
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The development of Christian character is, without question, the most serious part of education for any people, especially for colored people, because of our past history. With the various problems that the race has to meet, patience, fortitude and careful thought are prerequisites for any permanent advancement.—J. E. Blanton, Principal, Voorhees Normal and Industrial School, Denmark, S. C.²⁰⁵
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The Episcopal Church has advanced through the policy of the American Church Institute for Negroes to its rightful position among those Communions which are doing the most notable work for Christian education among the Negroes of the South.²⁰⁶
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The Institute system of schools now ranks as one of the largest, if not the largest, educational systems for Negroes in the country.²⁰⁷
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203 "Negro Education", p. 13.

204 " " " " , p. 42.

205 " " " " , p. 49.

206 Amer. Church Inst. for Negroes' Report, 1919-20, p. 8.

207 " " " " " " " " , p. 13.

Dr. George E. Payne's estimate of the American Church Institute for Negroes:

Although the American Church Institute for Negroes is an organization of the Episcopal Church and the support for the schools thus grouped together comes largely from its constituency, there appeared at no place an intrusion of this fact upon the faculty, student body or the community. It appeared to me that here was a great organization, philanthropically minded, with no other motive than that of advancing the education of the Negro in the South. The generosity of the attitude of the Church Institute was manifested in many ways, as for instance, in the fact that 85% of the students receiving the benefits from the philanthropic policy of the Church Institute were not Episcopalians but came from other communions or had no church affiliations at all. So far as I can see the attitude of the American Church Institute was completely unselfish and inspired by the highest ideal of service to those for whom it was carrying on its endeavors.²⁰⁸ ^

The Institute is the authorized agency of the whole Church, responsible to General Convention. Since its constituency resides in every state, the Institute voices convictions which to a large extent, are representative of the public opinion of the whole country. This is a very important factor in deal-

ing with race relations.

A second point of importance in evaluating the present and future potentialities of this Institute, is that southern dioceses, naturally more or less provincial in their views of the race issue, have officially accepted partnership and joint responsibility with the Institute, which is not provincial, for the support and administration of the schools under its direction. Representative citizens of the community in which the schools are located, some of them not members of the Episcopal Church, are members of the school boards, and the community through these representatives, not a few of whom are Negroes, subscribe liberally towards support and participate in the management.²⁰⁹

Concerning St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School,
Lawrenceville, Va.:

"How could I be otherwise than impressed by a plant worth six hundred thousand dollars with net annual operating expenses of one hundred thousand dollars; sixteen hundred acres of land including a five hundred acre farm, forty-four buildings including eight large structures; ~~sixty~~ teachers and instructors; 805 students including 126 in the junior college; and all sorts of shops for teaching the principal trades. Practically every

²⁰⁹ Payne: "An Estimate of Our Negro Schools", p. 23.

building on the campus has been erected by student labor even to electrical work and plumbing.

"More important than a mere recital of figures and dimensions is the significance of the school in the neat, well-built brick homes and churches, the well-kept farms, and the large number of skilled and successful Negro craftsmen. Situated in the heart of the Black Belt of southern Virginia, it is the center from which radiates all learning and culture and skilled workmanship among Negroes in a large section of Virginia.²¹⁰

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BISHOP PAYNE DIVINITY SCHOOL, founded by Bishop F. M. Whittle (Bishop 1868-1902).

By organizing the colored people of the Diocese of Virginia into a missionary convocation and especially in founding the Bishop Payne Divinity School for the thorough education of a colored ministry in a native environment, he did more perhaps than any man of his generation to give efficiency and stability to the work of the Church among that race in which he felt so warm and intelligent an interest.²¹¹

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210 Schuyler: "Negro Critic Appraises Inst. Schools".

211 Goodwin: "The Colonial Church in Va.", p. 213.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

In his book, "The U. S. Looks at Its Churches", Dr. C. Luther Fry states: In church attendance "Negro men not only make a far lower showing than the colored women, but even lower than the white men. Only 46% of all adult Negro men are in church, compared with 49% among the white men. These findings tend to explode the idea that the church has a peculiar hold upon the Negro temperament. Certainly if interest in organized religion was primarily the result of a racial attitude of mind, the factor should influence Negro men as well as women." ²¹² ^

In a radio address given shortly before his death, the Rt. Rev. Herbert Shipman, D.D., Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of New York, said: "If the colored people of this diocese constitute a problem, it is a problem of the white man's making and for which the white man is above all responsible. The colored man did not want to come to our shores. In honor and in common decency we owe a debt of expiation to our colored fellow-citizens such as we owe no other people anywhere." ²¹³ ^

212 Hobart: "The Negro Churches of Manhattan", p. 15.
 213 " : " " " " " " , p. 20.

DR. BRAGG'S MEMOIRS.

An Episcopal Negro priest gives us this reminiscence:

Fifty years ago (1887) when the writer of this letter entered the Christian ministry, there were then 41 Negro deacons and priests in the entire country, 20 deacons, and 21 priests. In Color-line congregations, a total of 5,086 communicants were reported; 2,111 of these were in congregations south of the city of Washington, and 2,975 in congregations north of the city of Washington. Of the clergy then living, only four survive, three of the four being now retired and not in active service. Hardly any three men in this particular field wrought more gloriously, and effectively in results than Henry L. Philips, Hutchens C. Bishop, and Henry Stephen McDuffy.

Fifty years ago, from three congregations in the state of Pennsylvania, there were reported only 350 communicants. To-day, there are fully 5,000, with 10 Colored congregations in the city of Philadelphia alone, all save one served by Colored priests. This is but a faint intimation of the marvelous influence exerted by Dr. Philips during the last half-century.

Fifty years ago when Dr. Bishop assumed the rectorship of St. Philip's Church, it was the only Color-line congregation in that diocese, and it reported only 322 communicants. Today there are approximately 10,000 Colored communicants in Manhattan, with 10 or more Colored congregations. ²¹⁴
A

BISHOP PENICK'S SUGGESTIONS.

Bishop Penick of North Carolina makes a present-day comment on helping the Negro to help himself:

In a certain diocese, a special service was being planned for the presentation of the church school Lenten offering. The local Negro church was invited to participate, and accepted the invitation. A few days before the service was to be held, the chairman of arrangements withdrew the invitation with regrets. He explained that objection had been raised to the presence of Negroes in the White church. The Colored priest acquiesced, of course, in this decision. There was no alternative. This was his comment: "I am an adult and have become hardened to such slights. But my children do not understand. The babies in my congregation have been hurt. Christianity as far as my flock is concerned has been set back a full generation." After a moment's pause, he added: "The hardest hearts are found right in the Church." ²¹⁵
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One speaker at a conference for Negroes said, regarding training for the Ministry:

"We all feel our inadequacy. We are not clinically trained. We do not know how to be real pastors. That is why our people are slipping away from us. We have contented ourselves with posing, striking attitudes, and expressing sentiments while secular agencies have taken away from us the work that was formerly done by the Church. We are hardly making a dent on the vast Negro population. We need missionaries who can preach with power, educational leaders, and social

215 Penick: "Our Negro Churchmen"

service experts. We are not even skilled in the devotional life and do not know how to build a parish program. The course of study for candidates, methods of instruction, and personal guidance of individual students must be changed so that our seminary graduates will be prepared to cope successfully with modern conditions."²¹⁶
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"I hope that we are through talking about the Negro Problem. So long as we refer to the Negro as problematical, he will regard himself as such. So long as we assume that he is a dependent creature, just so long will he behave as such and hold out his hand for help. The thoughtless, amiable white man has not been the friend to the Negro that he imagined. With a whimsical affection, he has deprived the Negro of self-reliance.

What then is the policy of this diocese toward the Negro? It is to regard him and to treat him in that spirit of comprehensiveness which has always been the genius of the Universal Church. The only novel feature about this policy is that we are putting into practice what we have long professed with our lips."²¹⁷
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216 Penick: "Our Negro Churchmen".

217 " : " " " "

LIEUTENANT OXLEY.

One of our Negro laymen tells us:

Twelve and one-half million disillusioned Negroes in America cannot be expected to listen to a gospel of brotherhood and good will when they note the silence or apathy of the Church as their brothers are lynched and discriminated against; when they continue to experience numerous inequities in the distribution of public funds; when they observe the terrible peonage system under which tenant farmers, both White and Black, are being literally ground to pieces; when they realize that Negro teachers are required to meet the same educational requirements to teach in the public schools, yet forced to accept a wage differential amounting in many cases to 30% and 40%; when they see states spending an average of \$5.00 per capita per Negro student as against \$25 to \$30 per capita for the education of a White student in the same state and immediate school district; and when they note that the Negro is made to bear many "stripes", marks of inferiority. The acceptance of a Christian doctrine under these conditions and circumstances becomes increasingly difficult. Again, while many are eager to carry the message of Jesus, it is not quite so easy for hungry, naked, homeless, and disappointed people to accept Christianity; in other words the Church must increasingly become conscious of

the "material needs" of the Negro,....and keenly alive to those factors which deny to the Negro full opportunity to grow normally as part of our Christian civilization.

There are certain encouraging trends in the Church's program as viewed by the Negro layman. Many of the diocesan organizations have seen the wisdom of including qualified Negro Churchmen as members of the various departments and committees, Christian education, Christian social service, finance, etc. The diocese of North Carolina offers a constructive example of an honest effort to integrate the Negro.²¹⁸

218 Oxley: "A Negro Layman Looks at the Church", (The Living Church), pp. 491-492.

As we look back over three centuries of negro history in America we may marvel at much of the progress which has been made, mixed as it has been with misunderstanding, fear and racial antagonism.

"Evolution does not raise all with an equal swiftness. Mass evolution is impossible except as individuals rise. We too frequently deny this privilege to the Negroes of choosing representative men. We choose our best and call that evolution; we choose their worst and brand that the Negro's evolution. Few processes can be slower than racial uplift."²¹⁹

"Today, lured by superior, economic, educational, or social opportunity, the young have formed a huge parade in their movement toward the large centers. Their actual evangelization and securing to the Church represents the patient, heart-breaking, and expensive work in the smaller places. They have consistently contributed an increasing increment to the building up of large city congregations.

"Traditions of semi-dependence along all lines must be broken, if independence in Church support is to be secured. A policy of permanent subsidy is always disastrous to morale."²²⁰

219 Earnest: "Religious Development", p. 62.

220 Maxon: "Negro Work in Tenn.", (The Living Church), p. 221.

CONCLUSIONS.

Out of the foregoing recital of the relations of the colored race in America to the Episcopal Church, from 1312 to, roughly, 1870, several conditions stand out: the influence of fear upon the white people, secularism in the religion of white Episcopalians, their inertia in the face of possible betterment of Negro conditions, and the success in evangelizing the colored people on the part of those denominations of Protestantism not so closely identified with the slave-owning class.

From the days of the landing of the first boat-load of slaves down to the Ku Klux Klan of the post-War period in the 1860's and 70's the white people of the South remained fearful of uprisings by Negroes, especially where and when the latter became more numerous. Accordingly it has been almost universally accepted by the whites that "control" was ever required,—that the Negro be kept "in his place".

It cannot be denied that an immeasurable amount of good has been done for Negroes by the Episcopal Church officially and by countless of her lay members, including secular and Christian education and Baptism. The Church's patriarchal attitude might be likened to that of parents who could not bear to see their child grow up and assume full responsibilities and obliga-

Out of the foregoing sketch of the relation of the
colored race in America to the Episcopal Church, from 1783 to
1847, several additional facts must be introduced.
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that be likened to that of parents who would not bear to see
their child "grow up and assume full responsibilities and oblige-

tions. The comparison stops, however, with the fact that the white people considered their wards as incapable of development beyond a certain point and dangerous to the peace of society, as well as an economic loss in the event of the granting of their freedom.

This line of reasoning also is plain: Those endowed with power and position do not normally desire a change from the status quo. Laissez-faire is their doctrine. Inertia controls their inner questionings. Most of these people were Episcopalians, who did not hesitate to impress their point of view upon the clergy who had different ideals. The consequence was that the Episcopal Church was on the whole the least involved among the denominations in developments looking to manumission, independent churches for Negroes, and the general, constant improvement of the colored race. This is not to imply that the other religious bodies were not greatly influenced by the same attitudes which held in the Episcopal Church. But the economic factor was that which made the most difference in the success of evangelizing the colored race and winning their permanent allegiance.

The Episcopal Church was identified by the slaves with

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provement of the colored race. This is not to imply that the
other religious bodies were not greatly influenced by the same
attitudes which held in the Episcopal Church. But the historic
factor was that which made the most difference in the attitude
of evangelizing the colored race and finding their persons and

The Episcopal Church was identified by the slaves with

their owners, much as it was identified with Tories by Revolutionary patriots. The "criminal silence" of the Church in the North may be ascribed in part to the historic capacity of her leaders to maintain friendly relationships despite differences of "churchmanship" or sectional feeling. The reader may form his own conclusions as to whether peace and harmony within the fold were more to be desired than justice for the oppressed outside the fold. The question is not a new one, nor is it confined to this one denomination.

There must not enter into our study any sectarian feeling of regret that the Episcopal Church today is smaller by possibly millions than it might be, had we pursued the most Christian sort of action toward the colored race. If hundreds of thousands of Negroes have been lovingly taught and trained in our colored Sunday schools and then have given their own help and enthusiasm to other denominations, well and good. Our only regret should be that the Episcopal Church had not done far more for them, considering our close relationship to the colored people for so long.

The evidences accumulated in this study have been presented as impartially as possible, with no desire either to save

and, moreover, much as it is identified with Tories in Britain.

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North may be ascribed in part to the historic capacity of her

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The evidence accumulated in this study have been pre-

sented as impartially as possible, with no desire either to save

the face of the Episcopal Church nor to condemn it unjustly. Much could fairly be said in praise of the pioneering Christian work done by it, but the writer feels that, in consideration of the vast field in which this Church has been prevented from functioning in a really Christian way, too much cannot be made of the ways in which our members did succeed individually in displaying a high order of ethical religion. Probably the best general extenuation for the Church's tardiness in the field of Christian social ethics, with reference especially to the colored race, is that in the present day this emphasis of the Gospel is accepted whole-heartedly by only a minority of baptized Christians. The majority consider their duty accomplished when they have done their best as individual Christians, omitting their responsibility for the welfare of others wherever social prejudices, economic systems, etc. make such activity difficult or embarrassing.

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